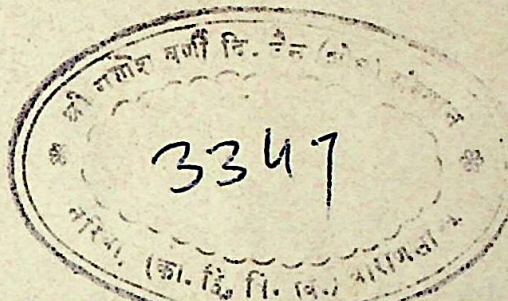


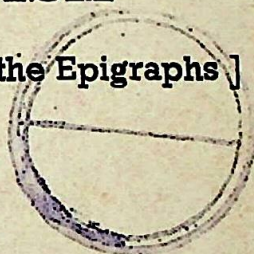
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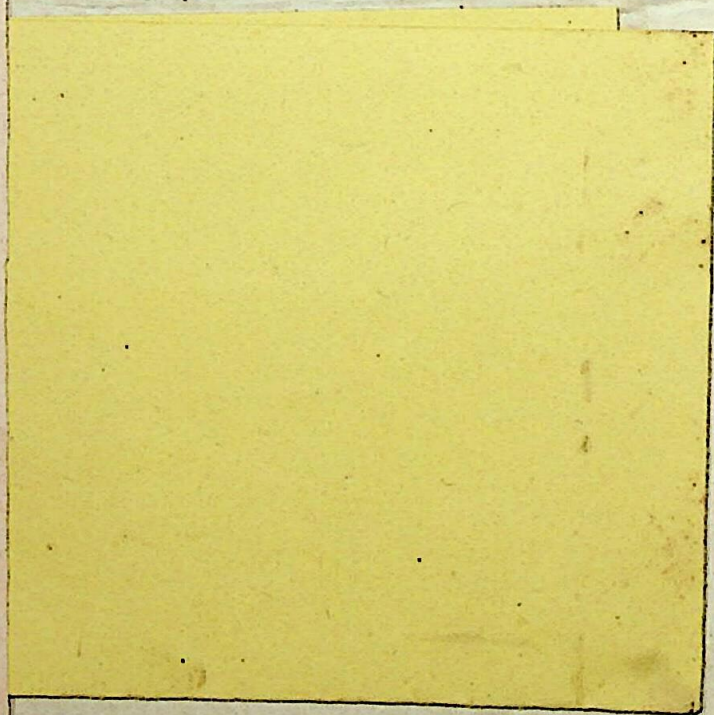
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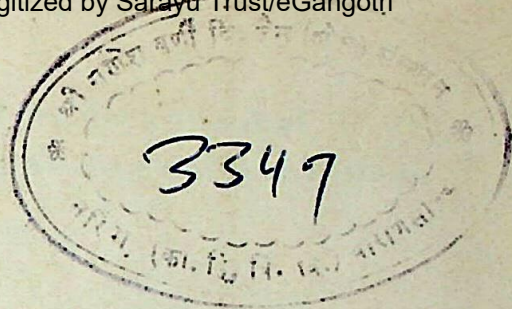
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DR. K. N. JAIN

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CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations

<i>Preface</i>	...	...	i-ii
Chapter one	...	...	1-2
Introduction			
Chapter two	...	...	3-9
Pantheon			
Chapter three	...	...	10-26
Schools in the Jaina Church			
Chapter four	...	...	27-55
Religious Organisations			
Chapter five	...	...	56-72
The Jaina Religious Thought			
Chapter Six	...	...	73-86
The Jaina Religious Practices			
Chapter seven	...	...	87-107
Important Centres of Jainism			
Conclusion	...	...	108-109
Appendix I	...	...	110-112
A List of the Jaina Tirthankaras			
Appendix II	...	...	113-114
The Types of Jaina Gods			
Appendix III	...	...	114
The Dynasty of Adhichhatra			
Select Bibliography	...	...	115-120
Index	...	...	120-136
Errata	...	...	137-139

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. Su.	<i>Āchārāṅga Sūtra</i>
Arch. Sur. Repts.	<i>Archaeological Survey Reports</i>
C. H. I.	<i>Cambridge History of India</i>
Corb. Ins. Ind.	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
C. I. I.	" " "
E. H. V. S.	<i>Early History of the Vaishnava Sect</i>
Ep. Ind.	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
E. C.	<i>See Ep. Car.</i>
Ep. Car.	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica</i>
E. R. E.	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i>
G. J. I.	<i>Gorakhpur Janapada Kā Itihāsa</i>
I. A.	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
I. S. J.	<i>Indian Sect of the Jains</i>
J. A. S. B.	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
J. B. B. R. A. S.	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society</i>
J. B. O. R. S.	<i>Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i>
J. K. C.	<i>Jainism and Karnataka Culture</i>
J. N. I.	<i>Jainism in North India</i>
J. R. A. S.	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
J. S. I.	<i>Jainism in South India and some Jain Epigraphs</i>
J. S. S.	<i>Jaina Silalekha Sangraha</i>
L. A. I.	<i>Life in Ancient India As Depicted in Jain Canons</i>
M. H. S.	<i>Manimekalai in its Historical Setting</i>
M. J.	<i>Medieval Jainism</i>
M. M. C.	<i>Mathura Museum Catalogue</i>
P. H. A. I.	<i>Postal History of Ancient India</i>
S. B. E.	<i>Sacred Books of the East</i>
S. B. J.	<i>Sacred Books of the Jaina</i>
S. I.	<i>Select Inscriptions</i>
S. I. I.	<i>South Indian Inscriptions</i>
S. J. G.	<i>Simhi Jaina Granthamala</i>
S. S. J. L.	<i>Schools and Sects in the Jaina Literature</i>
V. T. K.	<i>Vivāhīrtihikulpa</i>
O. J.	<i>Outlines of Jainism</i>
O. J. P.	<i>Outlines of Jaina Philosophy</i>
T. Rājavārttika.	<i>Tattvārttharājavārttika</i>

PREFACE

This monograph which is divided into seven chapters deals with some Aspects of Early Jainism as revealed mainly from the epigraphical records—from earliest times to about 600 A.D. I will not be justified in claiming it to be a new piece of research. It was, however, thought appropriate to study Jainism in the context of the epigraphical references and the same has been attempted here. Besides the seven chapters this monograph contains a conclusion and three appendices, the first two of which supplement the chapter on Pantheon. A discussion with regard to the material of the appendices has deliberately been avoided. An errata is given at the end in which some of the mistakes are corrected. But there may be others which could not be included in it. I crave the indulgence of the reader for all such mistakes of commission and omission.

It is a pleasure to admit my indebtedness to the great galaxy of Jainologists and others whose works have considerably been used by me in this work. They are properly referred to in the footnotes.

This study was taken up at the suggestion of now late Dr. R. B. Pandey, then Professor and Head of the department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, and Principal, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, in 1958, in completion of the M. A. Final examination. Dr. Pandey was a constant source of inspiration to me and he supervised the major part of the work. I am deeply indebted to him. I am thankful to Dr. R. S. Misra, Reader in the Deptt. of Indian Religion and Philosophy, who later supervised this work.

This work was selected by Dr. A. K. Narain about two years back for being published as a monograph of the Depart-

ment. I am highly grateful to him. I am especially grateful to Dr. K. K. Sinha who expedited its publication, went through the whole manuscript and made several useful suggestions. I am thankful to Shri P. K. Agrawala, my colleague, for his help in the publication of this monograph. Thanks are also due to my wife Usha for the preparation of the index and reading the proofs at times.

B. H. U.

J. P. S.

6-3-72.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Jainism is one of the living and yet one of the most ancient¹ religions of our country. The contributions of the Jainas in the various fields of Indian culture are manifold. As a system of faith, its importance has never been in doubt; but it has not received sufficient attention from the scholars.

This lacunae has been sought to be filled up by some of the recent works like *History of Jaina Monachism* by S. B. Deo and *Studies in Jaina Art* by U. P. Shah.

The present work seeks to study the idea of historical growth and development of the Jaina church and thought mainly on the basis of a study of Jaina epigraphy. It is not contended here that there will be some new information which has not been hitherto noticed in the religious texts. By their very nature, the epigraphs are contemporary records while the same cannot be said of the religious texts. The main purpose of attempting the present study was, therefore, to elicit such information from the inscriptions about the Jaina church and thought that could serve as a sort of historical framework for the evidence in the religious texts.

It will not be inappropriate to give in brief an introduction of the epigraphs. For the sake of brevity and convenience, I am inclined to classify the inscriptions under three main heads viz. (i) The early epigraphs, (ii) the Mathura epigraphs, and (iii) the later epigraphs.

The first of these or the earliest epigraphs comprise the Badli record (Pandey, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 19), the Delhi-Topara record of Aśoka (Sircar, *S. I.*, Book 1. No. 30. p. 67), and the cave epigraphs of Aśoka and Dasaratha (Sircar,

1. Mukerjee, R. K., *Hindu Civilisation*, p. 21

Select Inscriptions, Book 1. No. 33, 40 and 41-43), the inscriptions of the Chedis of Kalinga (Sircar, *Ibid*, Nos. 91 and 92, pp. 206 ff, and 213) and the inscription of king Lalāka (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 1074). Aśoka showed a tolerant attitude towards all the sects of the time. Similarly the Chedi king Khāravela, though a Jaina by faith, extended his patronage towards all the sects.

The justification for making the second group namely-the Mathura epigraphs-is that a very large number of inscriptions on the subject have been recovered from Mathura. These are very helpful for reconstructing the history of the development of the Jaina religious organisations.

The inscriptions of the third group belong to the kings of the Kadamba dynasty, the Cheras and the Chalyukyas etc. from Devagiri, Halsi, Altem etc. Under this group namely the later epigraphs we have also included the Kahaum inscription of 141 G. E. of the reign of King Skandagupta. The importance of these epigraphs often lies in providing information about hitherto unknown sects. One such instance is provided by a set of inscriptions which refer to the sect of Kūrchakas, otherwise rather unknown. Similarly attention has been drawn to an inscription from Śravaṇa Belagola¹ in an attempt to testify to the much repeated Bhadrabāhu-Chandragupta Maurya tradition of the Jains.

During the course of the present work, we shall examine aspects of Jainism as borne out by the available inscriptions. The inscriptional material, however, is too brief, therefore, literature has been used to elucidate it wherever found necessary. The inscriptional informations as specified above, are dealt with in corroboration of the religious texts and sometimes priority has been given to the later epigraphic records, for they have been often regarded as more historical than many of the prevailing literary traditions.

¹ Narasimhāchar, *Ep. Car.*, vol. II, No. 1.

CHAPTER TWO

PANTHEON

The widespread popularity of the Jaina faith and the development of its doctrines presuppose the evolution of a pantheon of its own which included many Hindu or Brahmanic divinities. These divinities were accorded a status very much inferior to their own Tirthankaras, twenty four in number. The Tirthankaras of the Jainas represent the highest order of the Jaina divinities.

The Jaina literary traditions provide even the minutest of the details regarding the various important events of the lives of their Tirthankaras in Avasarpinī or the present age. In these traditional records we come across the names of the parents of the Tirthankaras, their ages, stations, complexions, attendants and cognizances or Lāñchhanas. Their images are generally placed on ornamented and sculptured thrones and surrounded by other smaller attendant figures.¹

In 1890 Fuhrer discovered from the excavations at Mathura some 80 Jaina images² both inscribed and uninscribed mostly of the Jaina perfected beings. Besides, we have epigraphic mentions of the Tirthankaras by way of salutation and invocation to them and the Arhats. Here we propose to discuss mainly the evidence on the Jaina pantheon as gleaned from the inscriptions. Unfortunately this epigraphic material is very scanty. However, the details regarding the lives of the Tirthankaras known from literary sources are collected for comparison in Appendix I.

Ādinātha, the first Tirthankara, is known from a few

¹ Burgess, J., *Jaina Mythology* in *I. S. J.*, p. 62; for details about the Tirthankaras see Appendix I.

² Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. 4th, p. 168.

short epigraphs¹ which offer salutation to him. An inscription, dated in Gupta Year 141 (A.D.460) of the time of Skandagupta mentions Ādinātha as one of the Five Ādikartṛs², others being Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, and Mahāvīra. Another inscription also uses a similar expression, probably meaning the Creator of the World³. Rice has pointed out that in an inscription from Tumkur, the Jina is designated as the Supreme Spirit, and the same as Śiva, Dhātṛ, Sugata, and Viṣṇu.⁴ Ṛṣabha or Ādinātha is traditionally assigned to the beginning of Creation and hence the attempt of A. K. Mazumdar to assign him to 29th century B. C.⁵ does not seem to be correct. Jainism hardly believed in a supreme entity who created this material world. Sambhavanātha, the 3rd Tīrthankara has also an epigraphic existence⁶. We know that the images of Arhat Śāntinātha, the 16th Tīrthankara, were dedicated, whose records are preserved in the forms of inscriptions.⁷ So we know the 18th Tīrthankara also from the inscriptions.⁸ Next to him, we have again such mention

-
- ¹. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. XIV, VIII; *Ep. Ind.*, II, "Mathura Jaina Inscriptions," No. XXVIII; *J. S. S.*, II, Nos. 23, 56, 82, 93.
 - ². *Arhatāmādikartṛn pañchendrān sthāpayitvā...*, Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 15, pp. 65-68; *I. A.*, Vol. X, pp. 125-126; Sircar, No. 26, p. 308; Pandey, *G. J. I.*, pp. 171-2; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 93, p. 59.
 - ³. *Sṛṣṭerādeḥkartā*, Fleet; *I. A.*, Vol. VII. "Old Sanskrit & Kanareese inscriptions," p. 106.
 - ⁴. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 203, Tumkur, 9.
 - ⁵. Mazumdar, A. K., *H. H.*, p. 263.
 - ⁶. Sircar, D. C., *S. I.*, No. 53, p. 151.
 - ⁷. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, I, No. 3; *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 15, pp. 65 ff.; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 29, 93.
 - ⁸. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, 'Mathura Jaina inscriptions'. No. XX; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 59.

of Nemirātha¹ and Pārśvanātha.² Mahāvīra is also mentioned in inscriptions. We have discussed elsewhere³ that the largest epigraphic mention of Mahāvīra probably proves his historicity. This historical character is still confirmed by the testimony of the Baḍli inscription⁴ dated in the 84th year of (Mahā) Vīra (527-84=443 B. C.). An inscription from Śrāvaṇa Belagola speaks that Arhat Vardhamāna established 'the holy faith', and became a Tīrthankara.⁵ The 8th and 9th Tīrthankaras, namely Chandraprabha and Pushpadanta are mentioned in three image inscriptions from Vidisa⁶. The images are said to have been made at the instance of the supposed Gupta king, *mahārājādhirāja* Ramagupta.

All the Tīrthankaras are related by their birth to the Ikshvāku race except Muni Suvrata and Neminātha who were scions of the Harivaṃśa race. All of them were initiated at their birth places and obtained Kaivalya there as well, excepting Rshabhanātha, Neminātha and Mahāvīra who attained the Kevalahood at Purimatāl, Girnar and on the banks of the Rījupālikā river respectively. Twenty of the Tīrthankaras got liberated at the mount Sameta Śikhara in west Bengal; but Ādinātha, Vāsupūjya, Nemi and Mahāvīra died at Aṣṭapada, Champāpurī, Girnar and Pāvāpurī respectively.

The Tīrthankaras though supposed to have been persons of flesh and blood, got themselves disinterested from all attachments, became *Siddhas* and obtained divinity. The

¹. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. 14; *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, No. 28.

². Ibid, No. XXIX; *I.A.*, Vol. X, pp. 125-26; Vol. XI, p. 310; *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 83, 91, 93.

³. See Chapter, VII.

⁴. Pandey, R. B., *Indian Palaeography*, p. 19; Ojha, G. H., *Prāchīna Lipimālā*, pp. 2-3.

⁵. Narsimhachar, *E.C.*, Vol. II, No. I; *J.S.S.* Vol. I, No. 1.

⁶. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, pp. 250-51.

siddhas are divided into fifteen classes.¹ But the Jaina gods on the other hand are divisible into four types.² The gods of the Jainas, have mostly a life of unimaginable duration and are mortal³ irrespective of their type. But unfortunately none of all these informations are reflected in our inscriptions.

The Tīrthankara gods are like the kings, Sāmānikas their preceptors, the Trāyastriṃśa gods are their ministers, Pārīśadas are courtiers, Ātmarakshas are body guards, Lokapālas are officers, Anikas are soldiers, Prakirṇakas are subjects, Abhiyogas are servants and the Kilviṣakas are their feudatories.⁴

The references to other deities, which formed an important part of the Jaina pantheon are meagre. Only a few dedicatory epigraphs of Mathura record dedications or installations of their images. The first deity of this type is Nemesa (Naigameṣa), who is known from a mutilated Mathura inscription.⁵ The stone engraved with the inscription appears to conform to a Jaina tradition according to which, Hariṇegameṣi changed on orders of his master Śakra, the embryo of Brāhmaṇi Devanandā to that of Kṣatṛaṇi Trīśalā.⁶ In the *Kalpasūtra* Hariṇegameṣi is described to

1. Titthasiddha, Atitthasiddha, Titthagarasiddha, Atitthagarasiddha, Sāyambuddhasiddha, Patyeyabuddhasiddha, Buddhabohipayasiddha, Thilingasiddha, Purisalingasiddha, Napuṃsakalingasiddha, Salingasiddha, Aṇṇalingasiddha, Gihilingasiddha, Egasiddha and Anegasiddha, See *Lalitavistara*, p. 55 and *I. S. J.*, p. 72.

2. *Devāścaturṇīkāyāḥ*, *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, 4.1.; See Appendix II.

3. *I. S. J.* p. 74.

4. *S. B. J.*, Vol. I, Appendix B.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, 'Mathura Jaina inscriptions', No. 6; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 13, p. 16.

6. *Kalpasūtra*, p. 227.

have been a 'divine general of the foot troops.'¹ But originally he seems to have been the presiding deity of child birth. Several images from Mathura are said to portray the Hariṇe-gameṣi of the Jaina tradition,² and the images of his female counterpart³ have also been identified.

In several stone sculptures of Mathura this male deity is shown as having the face or head of a deer, which was probably due to an 'effect of a wrong etymology.'⁴

In Sanskrit literature, the deity is mentioned as Naigmeṣa or Nejameṣa. This name occurs in the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and the medical *Sam̐hitās* to denote a god with a ram's head and dangerous to children.⁵ Nemesa, Hariṇaigameṣin and Naigmeṣa appear to be the names of the same deity.

Naigameya, a deity of similar sort is as well known from the Brahmanic sources. He too was conceived off as dangerous to children and a companion of Skanda. Here too he is attributed with a goat-head like the Nemeso of sculptures. Buhler holds on this ground that originally the deity was taken as one having a goat face, but later on it was made deer headed and the name Hariṇaigmeṣi⁶ was popularised. The existence of the worship of Nemesa leads one to infer the inclusion of Sakra even in the popular Jaina pantheon, who was the master of the former.

Sarasvatī was another deity which enjoyed an important place in the Jaina pantheon. An installation of her image is known from a record from Mathura.⁷ The adoption of

¹. Ibid.

². Agrawala, V.S., *M.M.C.*, Pt. III, No.E1; 2482; pp. 32, 35.

³. Ibid, Nos. E2, E3, E4, E5, etc., p. 33.

⁴. Jacobi, *Kalpasutra*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. 227, n.i.

⁵. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, 'Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura', p. 316.

⁶. Ibid, p. 316.

⁷. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 21 ; *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, no. 55.

Sarasvatī in the Jaina pantheon took place somewhere before the beginning of the Christian era. She is still worshipped among the Jains.¹ Sarssai devī (Sarasvatī) is described to have been a worshipper of Arhat Mahāvira.²

It appears likely that the deities like Sakra, Naigamesa, Sarasvatī and many others that are not known from our inscriptions were definitely borrowed from the Brahmanical pantheon. The Jains retained their divine status but portrayed them in their mythology and literature as devotees of their Tirthankaras. This ascription of an inferior status to the Brahmanical deities was intended to publicize the Supreme Divine status of the Tirthankaras over the popular mind and to play down the rival sect of the Brahmanas.

The Jaina Pantheon seems to have included even a serpent deity. It becomes clear from the evidence of an inscription from Mathura which has been dealt with by Buhler as a Bhāgavat inscription. But it seems to have really been a Jaina record since it was discovered from the pavements of the excavated Jaina edifices at Mathura, as Buhler³ himself has noted. The inscription records the consecration of the stone slab, on which it is inscribed, in the temple of *Bhagvato Nāgendra* (the worshipful king of Nagas) named Dadhikarana.⁴ The association of Dharmendra or Nāgendra with Pārśva, the 23rd Tirthankara is a very old concept;⁵ accordingly the figures of Pārśva, are shown with a canopy of snakehoods.⁶ Thus it seems to be a Jaina epigraph and its Nāgendra a Jaina deity, the attendant spirit of Pārśvanātha. Fergusson

¹. Buhler, *V.O.J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-331.

². Weber, *Indische Studien*, Vol. XVI, p. 424, n. 1 (as quoted by Buhler in *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV., pp. 313-331).

³. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 380.

⁴. Buhler, *Ibid.*, No. 18.

⁵. *Uttarapurāna*, Ch. 73rd, p. 438; and *I.S.J.*, pp. 63-64.

⁶. Agrawala, V.S., *M.M.C.*, Pt. III, No. B.71, B70, B62, B67, B68, B69, B72.

accepts serpent worship among the Jainas.¹ It is possible perhaps to suggest that the Jainas also adopted certain elements of folk cults in their religion to attract people following them toward their sect.

The Jainas as well evolved a series of Hells or Narakas, which though not known from our epigraphs, are seven in number² where evil persons were to live after death.

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- ¹. "The Naga is almost always to be found in Jaina temples, and placed where it evidently was intended to be an object of worship" though inferior in status to the presiding deity of the temple; Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 76.
 - ². Ratnaprabhā, Śarkarāprabhā, Vālukāprabhā, Pañka-prabhā, Dhūmaprabhā, Tamaprabhā, Tamātamaprabhā, See *Ratnasagara*, bh. II, p. 607.

CHAPTER THREE

SCHOOLS IN THE JAINA CHURCH

Our inscriptions do not contain anything regarding the various schisms and schools in the Jaina Church. However, it is possible to deduce the existence of some of the important schools from their mention in the inscriptions. However; they appear to be quite ignorant of the existence of the seven *Nīhagas*¹ (Skt. *Ninhava*) or the schisms of *Jāmīlī*, *Tisagutta*, *Āṣāḍha*, *Assamitta*, *Gaṅga*, *Chalne*, and *Goṭṭhamahila*.² None of these sects was so harmful to the growth and development of the Jaina order as was the sect of the *Ājīvikas*, supposed to have been founded by *Maṅkhaliputta Gōśāla*.³

The early existence of the *Ājīvikas* is known from our inscriptions. The earliest epigraphs are from *Barābar* hill caves near *Gayā*. The caves were donated by king *Aśōka* to the sect of the *Ājīvikas*. Two of these records are dated in c. 258 B. C. and the third in c. 251 B. C.⁴ Another mention of the *Ājīvikas* occurs in the 7th P. E. of king *Aśōka* which is dated in c. 243 B. C.⁵

¹ *Haribhadrāsūri, Āvaśyakāsūtra* (Āgamōdaya Samiti. Bombay, V. 778, p. 311.

² For details see Jain, J. C., *L.A. I.* pp. 25-26; Sen. A. C., *S. S. J. L.* pp. 43-45.

³ He was the 'son of a professional mendicant, *Mankhali* and his wife *Bhaddā*'; *Bannerji Śāstri, J. B. O. R. S.*, XII, p. 55. And as he was born in the cowshed of a Brahmin at *Sāvattthī* he was known as *Gōśāla*, *Hoernle, E. R. E.*, Vol. I.

⁴ *Sircar, D. C., S. I.*, pp. 78-79; Cf. *Hultzsch, C. I. I.*, Vol. I pp. 181 ff.; *Senart, I. A.*, XX, pp. 168 ff.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 65-69; *Hultzsch, C. I. I.*, pp. 130 ff. *Buhler, E. I.* Vol. II, pp. 245 ff.

Thereafter, the Ājīvikas¹ are once more referred to in Nāgārjunī Hill cave inscriptions of Daśaratha (c. 220 B. C.). The epigraphs contain the dedication of the caves in favour of the monks of Ājīvika persuasion, by king Daśaratha, in the year of his consecration (Sircar. D. C., S. I., Vol. I. pp. 79 ff.; Buhler, I. A., Vol. XX, pp. 364 ff.).

This is possibly the last mention of the Ājīvikas in the north Indian epigraphs. Not only this, they are for a time not known from literature as well. Vārāhamihira² (the middle of 6th century A. D.) mentions the Ājīvikas, as one of the seven classes of religious mendicants.

The term Ājīvika in Sanskrit means 'mode of life' or occupation of a set or a class of people, whether they be householders or mendicant friars. Ājīvika is a derivative term of Ajiva, which according to Hoernle means, 'one who observes the mode of living appropriate to his class.'³ He continues that, "Gōśāla held peculiar views as to the Ājiva of a mendicant who was truly liberated from the fetters of Kar-

1. In some cases the word *Ājivikēhi* has been chiselled off. That it was a deliberate act is evident from the fact that none of the other word in the inscription seems to have been touched even (see, Shah, C.J., J. N. I., p. 66). Some scholars have regarded it as an act of Kharavela (Bannerji Śāstri, J.B.O.R.S., XII, p. 310). But the Hāthīgumphā inscription mentions the religious tolerance of Kharavela by describing him '*Sava pāsāṇḍapūjakō*, and the performer of a Rājasūya sacrifice (Jayaswal, & Banerji, Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 72ff.). Hence the conclusion of Śāstri does not seem plausible. To Hultzsch it was the work of Maukhari Anantavarman, who donated one Barābar cave to Kṛṣṇa and two Nāgārjunī caves to Śiva and Pārvatī (Ins. of Aśoka, Int., p. XXVIII). D.C. Sircar is in agreement with Hultzsch (S.I., p. 80, n. 2.).

2. *Vṛihajjātaka*, XV. I., *Laghujjātaka*, IX. I.

3. Hoernle, E. R. E., vol. I. p. 259.

ma. It was probably for this reason that he and his adherents came to be known as Ājīvikas or men who held the peculiar doctrine of Ajīva."¹ Gōśāla practised religious mendicancy as a proffession, to earn livelihood. And hence the term 'Ājīvika' was originally meant to stigmatise Gōśāla and his followers as professionals,"² though later on it became the proper designation of that order.

The Ājīvikas have been referred to in the canonical works of both the Jainas and the Buddhists. "In the seventh Aṅga... a man, Saddālaputta, is said to have been recieved by Gōśāla into the Ājīvika community, and the *Bhagawatisūtra*, the fifth Aṅga, gives us an account of the life of Gōśāla as the acknowledged head of the community. Though the Buddhist scriptures...also frequently mention Gōśāla Maṅkhaliputta as one of the leaders of the six religious mendicant communities whom Buddha singles out for special animadversion, they never explicitly connect him with the Ājīvikas, or state that he was their leader. But that on this point the Buddhist tradition did not really differ from the Jaina is shown by the fact that both attribute to him the holding of the religio-philosophical doctrine of the negation of the free will and moral responsibility."³

The Ājīvikas have variously been identified with the Vaiṣṇavas⁴, the Śaivas⁵ and the Jainas. The identification

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. The identification of the Ājīvikas with the Bhāgavatas or Vaiṣṇavas was first suggested by Kern, Buhler too accepted (*I. A.*, Vol. XX, pp. 361ff and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, pp. 274ff and *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 960. It was however rejected by Bhandarkar (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. 21, pp. 339 ff; *I. A.*, vol. 41, pp. 90 & 286ff) who believed in the existence of two distinct Ajīvika orders, the one being Brahmanic and the other non-Brahmanic. the eaters and non eaters of fish (cf. *Aśōka* pp. 155-6) Bhandarkar was refuted by Barua (*Inscriptions of Aśōka*).

5. The term Ekadaṇḍin led Śilāṅka to hold the Ājīvikas, the same as the worshippers of Lord Śiva (Hoernle, *E. R. E.*, I, p. 266). Hoernle rejects the identification of the Ajivikas with either Vaiṣṇavites or Śaivites.

of the Ājīvikas with the Jainas is mostly accepted by a majority of scholars, like Hoernle¹ Smith². Rice³, C. J. Shah⁴ and others.

The Ājīvikas are said to have discarded all clothes and cultivated decent habits, took food in the palm of their hands and were vegetarians etc⁵. The statement gives an idea of the similarities between the Ājīvikas and the Digambaras.

Śīlāṅka (c.876 A. D.) in his commentary on *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* used this term Ājīvika to denote the Digambara sect of the Jainas (Ch. II, 267), though at another place (ch. II, 245) it has been used to denote the Terāśiyas. And hence to Śīlāṅka, the words Ājīvika, Digambara, and the Terāśiya were all variants of the same term, denoting the same order of ascetics⁶.

Halāyudha (950 A. D.) in his *Abhidhānaratnāla* enumerates a large number of the designations of the two Jaina sects, known as Śvetvāsasa (Śvētāmbaras) and Digvāsasa (Digambaras), the latter of which had another name Ajīva⁷ which is an abbreviation of the word Ajīvika.

According to the traditions recorded in *Manimekhalai*, the Ajīvikas were a sect of the Jainas. The "*Manimekhalai*" says. S.K. Aiyanger, "seems to regard these two as one system that of the Samans or Jains. A later Tamil work *Nilakesi* and the Saiva canonical work *Śivaganasidhi* state distinctly that the two systems were branches of one."⁸

1. E. R. E., I, p. 266.

2. E. H. I., (IIrd edn.), p. 166.

3. Rice, B. L., *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Ki., 28, p. 7.

4. J. N. I., p. 67.

5. Belvalkar, & Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, pp. 460-61.

6. Hoernle, E. R. E., I, p. 266.

7. *Abhidhānaratnāla*, II, 189-90.

8. Aiyanger, S. L., *Manimekhalai*, p. 55.

The Perumal temple records at Poygai in the vicinity of Viranchipuram mention the land grants made over to the sect of the Ajivikas by the Chola king Rajaraja.¹ The editor of these records, taking his stand on the authority of the modern Tamil lexicons accepted the identity of the Ajivikas with the Jainas, who were certainly the Digambaras. It may be recalled that the Digambares were in great majority in south² during that period. Hoernle points out that the statements of the Tamil lexicographs are based on those of the Tamil literary evidences. In the ancient Tamil literature the term Ajivika has been used to denote the Digambara sect of the Jainas. The term was used in the same sense from after Mahavira³.

The theory has been rejected by B. A. Saletore and others on the ground that an inscription of 1162 A. D.⁴ maintains separate identity of the Ajivikas and Jainas. Not only this, certain other Tamil ephigraphs show that "the Ajivikas were taxed per capita, while the Jainas like other citizens were taxed per house⁵." Further S. K. Aiyangar holds that the Ajivikas and the Jainas were confused together. In Kannada country, the Ajivikas were confounded with Buddhists⁶. And hence in the light of such conflicting views nothing conclusively could be said. The Ajivikas and Jainas have been mentioned separately in the Buddhist literature as well⁷.

The Ajivikas some times were equated with the Yapaniyas⁸, another sect of the Jainas, which were of the

1. Hultsch; S.I. I. vol. I, Nos. 88, 89, 92, 108.

2. Hoernele, E. R. E, vol. I, p. 266.

3. Ibid.

4. Saletore, B. A; M. J., ch. VIIth, p. 221.

5. Ibid. p. 221.

6. Aiyangar, S. K.; M. H. S., pp. 55-6.

7. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, I, pp. 71, 219-220, 227, 232 (S. B. E. II).

8. Saletore B. A. M. J., ch. VIIth. p. 219.

Digambara appearance and had Śvētāmbara observance. But since these two sects have nowhere been associated with each other this view itself becomes untenable.

Gosala is said to have been a disciple of Mahavira. But after a period of six years he was expelled from the religious owing to the insincere and treacherous conduct of the former. Gosala took his expulsion from the Jaina Church of Mahavira as an open challenge and a matter of great insult and thus fired up with a sense of hatred, ambition and pride decided to found a religious system of his own, with a view to overshadow the name, fame, and following of his great rival Mahavira.

The Śvētāmbara and Digambara Schisms

The separation of the Niggantha Community into two of its most important factions of the Svetambaras and the Digambaras,¹ is a great turning point in the history of the Jaina Church. It is not known as to when the first division of this type took place. None of the schools attempts to give an idea of the origin of their own sect, and whatever they have to say regarding the origin of the other school is of no significance.² This schism proved very harmful to the growth

^{1.} The main differences between the Svetambaras and the Digambaras are five in number (1) the Śvētāmbaras unlike the Digambaras hold that the Tīrthaṅkaras should not be represented nude; (2) the Śvētāmbaras unlike the Digambaras allowed the admittance of womenfolk in their order; (3) the Śvētāmbaras hold that Mahāvira got married and had children but according to the Digambaras he never married at all; (4) the Śvētāmbaras held that even a Kevalin required food, but to the Digambaras such a one can live even without food; (5) Svetambaras put on white robes where as the Digambaras kept on stark naked, Stevenson (Mrs.), pp. 79ff.

^{2.} Shah, C. J., *J.N.I.*; p. 67.

and the development of the Jaina Church and literature. Either of the schools regarded the other one as an order of heretics.

We cannot deduce the real origin or the date of these schisms from the inscriptions. The early existence of these schools, however can be noted in the epigraphs under our consideration. The Jaina inscriptions from Mathura are the earliest records which mention the names of the Śvētāmbara preceptors—Gana, Kula, Śākhā and Saṃbhoga divisions, as they are recorded in *Kalpāsutra*. The inscriptions belong to the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D. "The agreement of the inscriptions," says Bühler, with the *Kalpāsutra*...proves on the one side that the Jainas of Mathura were Śvētāmbara, and that the schism, which split the sect into two rival branches occurred long before the beginning of our Christian era.¹"

The evidence cited above provides an idea of the fulfilled Śvētāmbara hegemony in north. Thereafter the epigraphic knowledge of the Śvētāmbara sect from the inscriptions is but rare in the records under review.

The Digambara Sect : An existence of the Digambaras from early epigraphs could not be attempted. In an undated record from Devagiri, these two important sects have been mentioned together in connection with the donation of a village Kālavāṅga, by king Vijayaśivamṛigeshavarmā.² The sects mentioned here are styled as Śvētapaṭasamaṇa Saṃgha and Nirgrāṇtha Samaṇa (Digambaras) Saṃgha, denoting the two corresponding systems of the Jaina Church. Most probably the Nirgrāṇthas, mentioned in an undated record from Halsi,³ are the same as mentioned above.

¹. Bühler, *I.S.J.*, p. 44.

². Fleet, J.F., *I.A.* Vol. VII, pp. 37-38; *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, No 98, pp. 70 ff.

³. Ibid. Vol. VI. pp. 24-5; *J.S.S.* II, No. 99, pp. 72 ff.

Mūlasaṃgha (epigraphic term for Digambaras) has been referred to in several other inscriptions¹ belonging to the period under discussion. Sometimes even the subdivisions of Mūlasaṃgha are also described, as in an inscription from Merkara (466 A.D.).² The existence of the Kūr-chakas,³ a sect of the Digambaras, as well leads us to suppose the wide prevalence of the Digambaras during that period.

Though the Mathura inscriptions are mostly Śvētāmbara records, yet the existence of Digambaras at Mathura during that period could not be doubted. For there existed a Digambara Jaina temple, whose ruins were discovered by Fuhrer⁴. By the side of this temple was another altar belonging to the Śvētāmbaras. And hence the statement of J. C. Jain that the inscriptions from Mathura "do not show any trace of schism in the Jaina Church⁵" falls to the ground and should not be taken seriously.

The Great Schism : Though we do not have any direct description of the final schism in the Jaina Church yet an attempt on the same will not be anything inaccurate on the same ground. Bühler on the testimony of Mathura Jaina inscriptions, as I have pointed above in this chapter, observed that "the schism which split the sect into two rival branches, occurred long before the beginning of our era⁶." This statement shows that the schism must have occurred by at least 2nd century B. C.

1. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, t. 1. Nos. 72 & 73; *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. 44, pp. 209-17; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 90, 94, 106, pp. 55f; 60f; 85f.

2. *J. S. S.*, II, No. 95, pp. 63f.

3. For Kūrchakas see ch. IV.

4. Bühler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 169ff.

5. Jain, J. C., *L. A. I.*, p. 28.

6. Bühler, *I. S. J.*, p. 44.

The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela is one of the most important of all the early Jaina records. But unfortunately it bears no reference whatsoever regarding either of the sects under consideration. And if the statement of Bühler is accepted as an authentic one, the absence of any of these sects will create a great difficulty. But in its 14th line, we are informed of the benefactions made over to the yāpa¹ professors (identified with the Yāpanīya monks by Jayaswal²) by king Kharavela, which is the first mention of a Jaina School³ in inscriptions.

The origin of the sect of the Yāpanīyas (Yāpa) is assigned to 205th V. E. by the author of *Darśanasāra*, i.e., Devasena. And this date falls some 60-70 years after the Śvetāmbara-Digambara schism, which corresponds to (205 V. S. — 57.B.C. = 148 A. D. i. e.) 150 A. D. But even if the date of Hāthīgumpha inscription, as suggested by Sircar and others is to be accepted, the origin of the Yāpa (nīya) Saṃgha will go as far back as the last phase of 1st century B. C. Devasēna (middle of the 9th century A. D.) being a man of later times, should not be relied upon concerning the minute details on the topic, though the presumption of the origin of the Yāpa sect some 70 years after the Śvetāmbara-Digambara schism does not seem to be far from the truth.

In such a case, even if Hathigumpha inscription is assigned to 30-25 B. C.⁴ the great schism in the Jaina community

¹. Jayaswal reads the relevant passage...*Kaya-nisidiyaya Yapa-navakehi...Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 80.; Barua controverted the reading..., *Kayanisidiyaya (raja) bhatakehi rajabhathihi raja nathihi...Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 25; Sircar changes the passage a bit...*Kayanisidiyaya Yapunavakehi... Select Inscriptions*. p. 210.

². Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 388-9.

³. Ibid, p. 366.

⁴. It is now agreed to have belonged to the last phase of the first century B.C., *Select Inscriptions*. p. 206.

should have occurred round about the end of the 2nd century B. C. or the beginning of the 1st.

In point of confirmation, reference may be made to the Paṭṭāvalis or the traditional lists of the Gurus of the two sects. The lists diverge for some generations a few times after Mahavira and meet again in Bhadrabāhu. They seem to be parting company almost immediately after Bhadrabāhu for Samantabhadra is the 19th teacher in the Śvetāmbara and the 24th in the Digambara list.¹ Hoernle observes that, "before Bhadrabāhu the Jaina community was undivided; with him the Digambaras separated from the Śvētambaras."²

Bhadrabāhu is said to have been a preceptor and a contemporary of the king Chandragupta Maurya. The Jain community under the leadership of the illustrious Chandra Gupta Maurya (3rd century B.C.) and his preceptor marched towards South due to the fear of the impending famine, causing thereby, the great schism.

The traditions of both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras agree on the point of the date of the great schism. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition a certain Śivabhūti, a resident of Rathavirapur left his house and accepted the Jaina order of monks. He happened to receive a rich blanket from the king and became fond of it. His preceptor, however having noticed his likeness for it, asked him to leave the blanket aside. This aroused the anger of Śivabhūti and he ultimately decided to move about naked and thereby led to the origin of the sect of the Digambaras. He refused to initiate his sister Uttarā in his order, saying women were incapable of getting Salvation.³ This event is said to have

¹. Sharma, S. R., *Jainism and Karnataka Culture* p. 134.

². Hoernle, 'Three further Paṭṭāvalis of the Digambaras', *J.A.*, Vol. XXI, p. 59.

³. Shah, C. J., *J.N.I.* p. 69.

occured 609 years after Mahavira ($609 - 527 = 82 + 57 =$) 139 Vikrama Sam.¹ (82. A.D.).

The Digambaras hold that "the Śvētāmbara Samgha had its beginning in Vallabhīpura in Saurāṣṭra 163 years after the death of Vikrama²," i.e. 70-80 A. D. This separation was caused by a person named Jinachandra³, who is said to be a man of shady character.

Devasena Suri in *Bhāvasaṃgraha* almost repeats the same story with the addition of the traditional story of the prediction of a famine by Bhadrabāhu the date of schism being the same here as well⁴. Ratnanandin clarified this tradition saying that in the days of Bhadrabāhu a schism started, known as *Ardhphalaka* (half clothed⁵). But this introduction was opposed by Sthūlabhadra who was killed by those who favoured the separation which however came afterwards⁶.

Though the traditional dates for the great schism are not very different yet the existence of both Śivabhūti and Jinachandra seems to be doubtful. In this connection, it may be pointed out that no such saintly personages have been referred to in the historical documents of the two respective orders. It was most probably on this basis that Nathuram Premi observed that, "can we not infer from this that nobody knew the origin of either of the divisions? Something must be said and so afterwards they put down anything that came into their heads?" It is further confirmed by the

¹ *Āvaśyaka Bhāṣya*, pp. 154f; *Āvaśyakachūṛṇī*, p. 427; Dasgupta, Vol. I, p. 170.

² Premi, N. R., *Darśanasāra*, V. II, p. 7.

³ Ibid, V. 12-15.

⁴ Shah, C. J., *J. N. I.*, p. 68.

⁵ Ibid, p. 6; Dasgupta, Vol. I, p. 170.

⁶ Shah, C. J., *J. N. I.*, p. 69.

⁷ Premi, N. R., *Darśanasāra*, p. 30

evidence of the line of the Gurus, from the time of Mahavira upto Jambusvāmi, as given by either of the two sects. Thereafter which they differ for some generations but agree on the point of Bhadrabahu-Chandra Gupta tradition. And hence, concludes Shah that "really speaking, one cannot arrive at any definite conclusion from all these mutually conflicting traditions, and hence it is almost impossible to fix an exact date for this great schism in the Jaina community¹.

So far as traditions are concerned we do not have anything which could throw light on the origin of the great schism. The authenticity of the epigraphic records for the date of the event as attempted above, too, is not completely free from doubt. It has to be confessed that supporting evidence is lacking. There were monks clad in white robes since the days of Pārśva, who were known as Sthavirakalpa, whereas those who followed Mahāvīra's principle of nudity were called Jinakalpa and were the precursors of the later Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras respectively². Further it has been asserted by N. R. Premi that originally the Śvetāmbaras used (white) clothes only in some prescribed conditions to avoid shame, weakness etc. and in general the old and infirm monks were allowed to use them. He further says that even as late as the 6th or 7th century after Vikrama the Śvetāmbara monks were allowed to put on a loin cloth in some special conditions. But those who adopted clothes without any specific reason were severely condemned for that³. Thus the use of cloth even among the Śvetāmbaras was restricted.

In the light of the evidences cited above one may agree with J. C. Jain that 'the division of Jains in Śvetāmbara and Digambara was a gradual process'.⁴

¹. Shah, G. J., *J. N. I.*, p. 70.

². Stevenson (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 79.

³. Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya Aur Itihāsa*, p. 4/9.

⁴. Jain, J. C., *Life as depicted in Jaina Canons*, p. 28.

The Great Religious Leaders

The demise of Lord Mahavira led Gautama to the pontificate for a period of 12 years. He was followed by Sudharma who continued to be in the office for 12 more years. Sudharma was succeeded by his pupil Jambusvāmi. Jambu was followed by Prabhava, Sayambhava. Yasobhadra and Sambhutavijaya in order. Thereafter, came the illustrious Bhadrabāhu (I), after whose name the traditions of the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras differ greatly from one another. Bhadrabāhu on the Digambara side was followed by Viśākha, Prosthila, Kshatriya, Jayasena, Nāgasena, Siddhārtha, Dhritisena, Vijaysena, Buddhilinga Dharmasena and Nakshtra etc¹.

Some of the names of this list are furnished by an inscription (600 A. D.) from Sravana Belagola though with a few omissions and additions. The list of the record mentions Lord Mahavira, who was followed by Gautama, Lohāryya, Jambu, Vishṇudeva, Aparājita, Govardhana, Bhadrabāhu, Viśākha, Prosthila, Kritikārya, Jayanāma², Siddhārtha, Dhritisena, Budhila³ and others⁴.

Bhadrabāhu of this list has been identified by Fleet with Bhadrabāhu II⁵ of the Digambara *Paṭṭāvalis*. But the said monk was identified with Bhadrabāhu I by Rice. Narsimhachar agrees⁶ with this view.

The first three pontiffs after Lord Mahavira were *Kevalins*, and five from Vishnunandin upto Bhadrabāhu I

¹. Hoernle, 'Three further Paṭṭāvalis of the Digambaras,' *I.A.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 57 ff.

². Jayanāma and Jayasena seem to have been identical.

³. Budhila and Buddhilinga are perhaps identical.

⁴. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. II, No. I; *J. S. S.*, 1, No. I. (1).

⁵. Fleet, J. F., 'Bhadrabāhu, Chandra Gupta & Sravana-belagola', *I. A.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 156 ff.

⁶. Narsimhachar. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. II, Int.; Jain, H.L., *J.S.S.*, I, Int., pp. 64 ff.

were known as *Śrutakevalins*, and next nine patriarchs were termed as *Pūrvins*, and all of them held the office in totality for 62, 100 and 188 years respectively.

We are at a loss to gather up the names of the teachers, of the Śvetāmbaras from our records yet many of the names of the founders of the Gaṇas, Kulas, etc. presuppose their epigraphic existence.¹

We do not have any epigraphic bearing on literature, and hence it will be out of place to discuss that topic here.

The Yāpanīya Schism

The Jainas are mainly thought of to have got divided in two main sects of the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras from which all of their minor schools and sects originated and expanded. Nevertheless, these sects possess a vast literature tradition and following of their own. But, besides the two sects of note, there was another sect of the Jainas, known as Yāpanīya, Āpuliya or Gopya Saṃgha².

Our epigraphic knowledge with regard to the sect of Yāpanīyas is not totally meagre. The Yāpanīyas for the first time are mentioned in an epigraph of king Mṛigeshvarma, the Kadamba ruler, which goes to record the gift of a piece of land made incumbent upon the monastic settlement of the Yāpanīyas³ and others. The next such mention is to be gathered from an inscription of King Ravi (Varma), from Pālā (Sikā), the capital of the Kadambas, which records the gift of a Village Purukhetaka by name, for the celebration of

¹. See ch. IV.

². Premi, N.R., *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 56.

³. *Śrī Vijaya palāśkāyāṃ Yāpanī (ya), Nirgrantha, Kūrch-chhkhānām, svavaijayike aṣṭame vaiśākhē saṃvastsare kārṭtika-pūrṇamāsyāṃ Matarisārīta Aradhya ainginisāṅgmata rājmanena trāyastriṣannivarttanam, śrī vijaya vaijyanti nivasi dattavān bhagvadbhyordbhyah. Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 24-25 no. 21, J.S.S., Vol II, no. 99. pp. 72-74.*

the Aṣṭāhnikā worship of the Jains, made over to the Yāpanīyas.¹ The concluding reference concerning the sect of the Yāpanīyas, could be seen in an epigraph of Devavarma, son of the illustrious king Kṛishṇavarma, the Kadamba King of Palasika, the performer of Aśvamedha sacrifice, wherein the gift of a piece of land, for the repairs of the Chaityālaya of the Jina and his worship, was made over to the Samgha of the Yāpanīyas². These records corroborate the existence of this sect at an early date of our era.

Though the origin of this sect is not quite certain yet none can doubt the fact that the Yāpanīyas at a time were almost as numerous and influential as the Śvetāmbara and Digambara schools of the Jains³. Further they could be said to have formed a connecting link between the two extremist Jaina followings.

The Yāpanīyas after these epigraphic references are mentioned in *Lalitavistara*, *Darśanasāra*, *Pañchamārgōtpatti* and *Bhadrabāhucharita* etc.

According to Devasena, the author of *Dārśanasāra*, this sect was originated by a Śvetāmbara monk around 205

1. ...Puṇyārtha svapiturmatre dāttavāna Purukhetakam... Jinendra mahimā kāryya pratisaṃvatsaram kramata Aṣṭāhkritamaryādā.....varshikarmśchchaturō māsān yāpanīyastapasvinaḥ...*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, no. XXII. pp. 25-27, *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, no. 100, pp. 74-76.
2. ...Aśvamedhayājinaḥ...dharmamahārājasya śrī Kṛishṇa varmaṇaḥ priyatanayo Devavarmayuvārājaḥ svapuṇya-phalābhikāṅkshayā trilokabhūtaḥitadeśiṇaḥ dharma pravarttanasya arhataḥ bhagvataḥ chaityālayasya bhag-nasaṃskārārchan mahimārthaṃ Yāpanīya(sa)mghebh-yaḥ...dvādaśa vivarttnani kshetrau dattavān, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. XXXV, pp. 33-35; *J. S. S*, II. No 105. pp. 83-84,
3. Muni Jinavijaya, Preface of *Paumchariu*, Vol. I.

Vikram Samvat.¹ This date falls just after a lapse of 60 or 70 years after the great schism which separated the whole Jaina community in two major sects of the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras.² But Nathu Ram Premi is inclined to prove the contemporaneity of the division of all these three sects,³ almost to the same period.

Origin of the Yāpanīya Samgha : The origin of the Yāpanīya samgha will be considered over here. A story in *Bhadrabāhucharita* shows that a king Bhūpāla invited some Jaina monks to preach the sacred law of the Jinas in response to the request of his royal consort, from the capital of the latter's father. The monks arrived with the minister of the king, who refused to see them clad in white robes, and rebuked his queen. Thereafter, the monks when requested by the queen, left aside their clothes,⁴ and thus gave rise to the new sect of the Yāpanīya Jainas by adopting Digambara appearance and Śvētāmbara observance. King Bhūpāla stands nowhere in the whole region of history. His character and personality are purely mythical. The *Bhadrabāhu Samhitā* has mystified the origin of the Yāpanīya sect which should not be believed as it is a later work.

Another tradition of this sort is alluded to in *Pañchamārgōpatti*, in which, according to Taylor, a sect called Yāvanīyam

1. *Kallane varanayara Dunnisaya Panchuttare Jaae/ Javanīyasamghabhavo sirikalasadhū sevadao* //29 *Darśanasāra*; cf. S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 448.
2. *Chhattise varisasaye vikkamarayassa maranpattassa sortthe valhiye uppanno sevado samgho* //1//—Ibid.
3. Premi, N. R., *Jaina Sāhitya Aur Itihāsa*, p. 57.
4. *Tadātivēlam bhūpādyaih pūjitā mānitaśhchataih / dhritam digvāsasam rūpānchārāh sitavāsasām* //153 *Guru śikshātigāmlīngam natavadbhiṇḍimāspadam / tatōyāpanasamgho-bhūtteshām kāpathvartinam* //4.154//—*Bhadrabāhucharita*, Kashi Lal, Uday Lal.

is said to have originated out of the Śvetāmbara sect and decided to go on naked.¹

According to Devasena's *Darśanasāra*, however, the sect was started by a Śvetāmbara monk named Śrikalaśa, at Kalyāṇa.² These traditional accounts show that the Jainas had forgotten the origin of the sect. And as such possibly nothing definite can be said on this point. But it seems certain that they were in all probability a branch of the Śvetāmbaras as the Jaina tradition suggests.

As pointed above, Yāpanīyas derived their designation from the Yāpa (Yāpana), some of whom worshipped the bones of their teachers, and hence gave rise to the sect of the Yāpanīyas.³ The Yāpanīyas have been included in the list of the five pseudo-Jaina sects, by Indranandi the author of *Nītisāra*⁴ probably because they were opposed both to the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras. It was due to this ritualistic difference which resulted in their being called as '*Jainā-bhāsā*'.

The Yāpanīyas at a time were very numerous in the Karnataka and the regions adjacent to it. This religious order was patronised by the Kadambas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas etc.

Later, however, this important Jaina sect either became extinct or merged into the Digambara order.⁵

¹. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 338-339.

². S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 448.

³. Jayaswal, K. P., *J.B.B.O.R.S.* Vol. IV.

⁴. Gōpuchhakaḥ śvetavāsā drāviḍō yāpanīyakaḥ /
Nihpichhikāśchēti panchaite Jainābhāsā prakīrtitaḥ /
Quoted in Sharma, S. R., *J.K.C.*, p. 153.

⁵. S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 448.

CHAPTER FOUR

RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

Originally the Jaina community in its entirety was known by the single term *Niggaṇṭha*. The word has been so used in Aśokan edicts (VII PE), as early as 257 B. C. The community comprised four different categories, which gave it another popular designation *Chaturvidha* (or *Chaturvarṇa*, as known from epigraphs¹) *Samgha*, for the fact that it included monks, nuns, and male and female liacs. The mention of *Chaturvarṇa Samgha* and the nuns in Mathura Jaina records goes to prove beyond doubt the inclusion of women in the Jaina order since an early date of its history. The inclusion of nuns in Jaina order could not have been as a result of an imitation from the Buddhists. This assertion gets support from the Jaina works² and the epigraphs from Mathura too can be cited in support of this. The borrowing was probably from the Hindu religious order from whence the Buddhists themselves took the idea. For we know that the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas allowed the admittance of women in their orders at an early date³.

The Jaina monastic system has provided a very good and respectable position to its laity. They built temples and monasteries and gifted lands for their maintenance and management. The Jaina laity exercised great powers over the *Samgha* in the ancient days of the religion. The secular headship remained with them. They were also authorised to manage the institutions they built and to restore discipline and order among the monks whenever it was required. The laity could have decided the expulsion and admission of

1. *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 19, p. 105.

2. Buhler, *V.O.J.*, Vol IV, p. 319.

3. *Ibid.*

monks in the monasteries not only in case of the ordinary monks but even in that of the 'Śrī Pūjas' or the heads of the religious sections. Jaina liacs had supreme rights over all of the whereabouts of his section (school or Gaṇa) and could have dethroned (or enthroned) any man from the spiritual headship of his section¹. Buhler on the basis of the mention of the liacs in the epigraphs, observes that "the Gaṇas, Kulas and Śākhās probably means something more than the fact that they attended the religious service of monks of the particular subdivisions named²." Further he points out the power and influence of the Jaina laymen over the sections they belonged.

Niggantha Samaṇa Saṃgha

An inscription of the Kadamba king Śrī Vijaya Śiva-mṛigeśvarmā³ mentions the gift of a village Kālavaṅga, divided into 3 parts i. e., (1) to the Arhat Jinendra of Puṣkala (2) to the Śvetapaṭasamaṇa Saṃgha, and (3) to Nirgrantha (Digambaras)⁴ Samaṇa Saṃgha. The three parties mentioned were to enjoy their respective shares.

In another likewise instance as well the Nirgranthas are referred;⁵ the inscriptions from Halsi mention the Nirgranthas together with the Yāpanīyas and the Kūrchakas.

Although the word Nirgrantha as pointed above has been used in the canonical works of both the Jainas and the Buddhists to denote the Jaina community at large⁶, yet in both the cases cited here the word has been used to denote the

¹. Buhler, *V. O. J.*, IV, pp. 313-31.

². Ibid.

³. Fleet, *J. F.*, *I. A.*, Vol. VI, pp. 24-5; Ibid, Vol. VII, No. 37, pp. 37-38; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 98, pp. 69ff. & 99, pp. 72ff.

⁴. Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. XXXVII, pp. 37-38..

⁵. Ibid, Vol. VI, pp. 24-25; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 99, pp. 72 ff.

⁶. Premi, N. R., *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 478.

Digambara sect of the Jainas. These inscriptions are of a later date, when the two major sects of the Jainas had already become strong and important. Thus the word cannot be taken to stand for the whole Jaina community. It appears therefore, that the word though, originally denoted the Jaina order, later it came to be used only for the Digambaras.

Mūla Saṃgha

The Mūlasaṃgha is said to have been a popular designation of the Digambara sect of the Jainas in inscriptions¹. Further the whole Digambara Jaina community excepting the five pseudo-Jaina orders as narrated by Devasena, was termed as Mūlasaṃgha². The earliest reference regarding Mūlasaṃgha could be gathered from an inscription dated c. 370 A. D, issued by a Gaṅga king Mīdhvavarmā³, in the 13th year of his reign. The inscription mentions the grant of a piece of land and a village called Pēbbōlala, of the Mudukottūra viṣaya to a Jinālaya erected by the Mūlasaṃgha by the king on the advice of Āchārya Viradeva.

The second reference with regard to the Mūlasaṃgha is to be traced in a Ganga inscription⁴ of 425 A. D. of Konguṇi-varma, the king of kings. It mentions the grant of a village in compliance to the wishes of the King's Upādhyāya (Āchārya) Parmārghata Vijayakīrti, to the Jaina temple of Uranūra, established by the head of the Mūlasaṃgha, Āchārya Chandranandī, and to the Jaina temple of Perūrevāni-Adigala⁵.

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1. Jain, H., *Jaina Śilālekha Saṃgraha*, Vol. I, pp. 129 & 144.
 2. Premi, N. R., *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 485.
 3. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Malur tl. No. 73; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 90, pp. 55-56.
 4. *Ibid*, No. 72; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 94, pp. 60-63.
 5. *Ibid*.

Another mention to this effect is found in the Altem inscription¹ of 489-90 A. D. of Sāmiyār the governor of Kuhunḍī district, under king Pulakesin I, in the Alaktakanagra, which was encircled by a set of seven hundred villages. The grant was made to Muni Siddhanandī of Mūlasamgha Kākōpala Amnāya. The epigraph also records the line of preceptors, beginning from Siddhanandī to his disciple Chikāchārya, his disciple Nāgdeva and his disciple Jinanandī.

To N. R. Premi the Kundakundānvyā seemed to be of higher antiquity as compared to Mūlasamgha² as Chaudranandī in the Markarā (Coorg) epigraph of A. D. 466 of king Koṅguṇivarmā, the secondus, is said to have belonged to the Kundakundānvyā. The record contains a line of spiritual preceptors starting from Guṇachandrabhaṭār of Kundkundā anvaya, his disciple Abhaṇandī (Abhayanandī), Śīlabhandrabhaṭār, Jayaṇandibhaṭār, Guṇanandibhaṭār and Chaṇḍanandibhaṭār (Chandranandī)³ to whom the village of Badṇeguppe was given for the use of Śrīvijaya Jaina temple of Talvan-nagar⁴.

Kundakundāchārya is a much repeated and revered name in the history of the Jaina (Digambara) sect. He seems to have been a connecting link between the old and new Digambara Jaina sects. A great many works of this Āchārya have been found, though various other Jaina authors and works, preceding him are known to have existed. However, none of these works are found today. Thus the Āchāryas following him practised it as a fashion to style themselves as a descendant of the line of Āchārya Kundakunda⁵. Kundakundā-

¹ Fleet, *I.A.*, Vol. VII, No. 44. pp. 209-17; *J. S.S.*, Vol. II, No. 106, pp. 85-90.

² Premi, N. R., *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 485.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *J.S.S.*, Vol. I, (Int.) p. 129.

chārya probably reorganised the Digambara Jaina community and strengthened its Church through his efforts and writings. It was this aspect of the personality of the teacher which earned him great fame and associated his name with the sect. Further Kundakunḍa is said to have been the first gaṇin of Mūlasaṃgha according to an inscription No. 55. (69), dated 1100 A. D. :

Śrīmato Vardhamānasya vardhamānasya śāsanē /
Śrī Kunda Kunda-nāmābhūnmūla saṃghāgraṇī //3//¹

The epigraphic statement cited above should not be relied upon greatly as it belongs to a considerably later date. Still it is not impossible that later on the Mūlasaṃgha, Kundakunḍānvaya, and Nirgrantha all came to denote the same Digambara sect. It must have been so even before the eminence of Kundakunḍāchārya, but later on the wide spreading fame of the teacher aforesaid, compelled the Jainas to join his name with that of the Mūlasaṃgha (to which he might have belonged), as is clear from the testimony of a large number of Srāvaṇabēlagolā inscriptions.² But that is a later development which acquired popularity at a later date. Thus later on Mūlasaṃgha and the Kundakunḍānvaya became identical.³

Dēvasena the celebrated author of *Darśanāsārā* gives a list of five false Jaina sects,⁴ which comprised the Śvētāmbaras, the Yāpanīyas the Drāviḍa, the Kāṣṭhā and the Māthur saṃghas.⁵ The Digambara observances and performances are some what different from those of these organisations.

Devasena says about Āchārya Vajranandi, the founder of the Drāviḍa Saṃgha, that he earned sin by drawing his suste-

¹. J. S. S., Vol. I, (Int.), p. 115.

². J. S. S., Vol. I, Nos. 55, 59, 90, 105, 124, 130, etc.

³. Premi, N. R., *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 359.

⁴. Ibid., p. 483.

⁵. Ibid.

nance through cultivation, basadis, Jina temples and trade.¹ This statement clearly shows that the Jaina monks of the Drāvida Samgha lived in temples and perhaps ventured to cultivate the land gifted to their temples.² Thus this practice led to the origin of a new class of monks known as Chaityavāsīs to the Jainas, whose origin in case of the Nirgranthas is not known³ whereas in the case of the Śvetāmbaras it is said to have started in the 832nd year of the Vira Nirvāṇa era.⁴ But Bechardas and Muni Kalyanavijaya seem to be on firm grounds when they date this Chaityāvāsa sthiti at a very early date in the history of the Jaina organisations on the basis of the worship and respect offered by the kings and princes of the time.⁵

Devasena has not included Mūlasamgha in his list of the false Jaina sects. But the essential characteristics whose presence in those sects made him to term them in that way could even be traced in the Mūlasamgha as well from an early date. The earliest references regarding Mūlasamgha are to be found in inscriptions numbering 90, 91 and 106 (J. S. S., II), all of which were issued to record land grants made by their issuers in favour of this Jaina Samgha. And as these inscriptions are earlier than the date of Devasena suri, the same practice which enabled him to term Śvetāmbara, Yāpanīya, Drāviḍa, Kaṣṭhā and Māthura Samghas as false sects, was inherent in the Mūlasamgha from its early days and must have been very popular during the time of the composition of *Darśanāsāra* as it becomes clear from the epigraphs of the time. The Mūlasamghī Jainas likewise could

1. Kachham Khēttam vasahim vāñijjam karinna jivañtō /
Nhamtō siyalañirē pavam pauraṃ sa samchēdi //

—*Darśanāsāra Gāthā*, 27.

2. Premi, N. R., *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 484.

3. Ibid, p. 482.

4. *Vīrata 832 Chaityasthiti*, Ibid, p. 480.

5. Ibid.

not have escaped the management and cultivation of the land gifted to their temples. Hence the silence of the celebrated author of *Darśanasāra* is some what strange and shows the bias of Devasena towards Mūlasamgha. This is confirmed by the fact that his arguments with regard to the false sects were adopted from the Āchāryas who flourished before him.¹ It is also quite possible that he himself belonged to the Mūla-Samgha. This shows that while he was critical of the rival sects the religious rivalry forced him to be silent about similar practices of his own sect.

Later inscriptions give a number of divisions and subdivisions of Mūlasamgha. Mūlasamgha was divided into four samghas (Simha, Sēna, Nandi and Dēva Samghas) some Gaṇas and Gachchhas but none of these subdivisions are known from the inscriptions under our consideration.

The Kūrchaka Samgha

The Kūrchaka samgha of the Jainas is known from two epigraphic records of the Kādamba kings Mṛigeśavarma and Hariyarma. The first of which mentions a land grant to the Yāpanīyas, the Nirgranthas (Digambaras), and the Kūrchakas by king Mṛigeśa who created a Jinālaya in the city of Pālāsikā². The next epigraph mentions the land grants made by king Harivarma, on the request of Āchārya Śivaratha, for the Aṣṭāhnikā worship and the feeding up of the whole Samgha³. The grant was made to one Chandrakshanta, who was made the head of the Vāriṣēnāchārya samgha of the Kūrchakas.

The mention of the Kūrchakas with the Yāpanīyas and Nirgrnthas in the former epigraph shows that they were different from both of them, whereas their separate mention

¹. Premi, N. R., *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 486.

². Fleet, I. A., Vol. VI, pp. 24-5 & J. S. S., Vol. II, No. 99.

³. Fleet, Ibid, No. 25, pp. 30-31; J. S. S., Vol. II, No. 103, pp. 80-1.

in the latter epigraph points to the power and influence they wielded during the Kadamba rule.

The word Kūrchaka variously denotes, peacocktail and beard. The naturalised form of this word seems to have been Kūrchī. The monks of Karnāṭaka use Kūrchī-Kamaṇḍalu among their ordinary belongings. It is not improbable that the Kūrchas were unlike the Yāpanīyas and the Digambaras wearing peacocktail as the very name suggests.

In ancient times there were different types of Jaina monks known as Kūrchaka (those wearing beard & mustachios); those who kept a lock of hair on their head (śikhādhārī; were clean shaven (Muḍiyā); clothed and unclothed.¹ This system of asectic order proves the possibility of an order of Jaina monks which was designated as Kurchakas for its monks kept beard and mustachios both².

Jinasena while describing Jaṭācharya the author of *Varāṅga-charita* mentions the movements of his moving locks of long hair, which shows the existence of Jaina Jaṭādhārī monks³. This itself can prove the existence of a sect like the Kūrchaka sect. This Jaina sect was popular perhaps since the beginning of the Christian era for it has been assigned to a high position in the epigraphs of the Kadamba kings of 5th century. But the early references regarding this sect are somehow or the other lost. Its divisions by the fifth century A.D., like that of Vāriṣṇāchārya samgha show that they had attained firm footing in the Jaina order of monks by this time.

A sect known as Kūrchī (or Kūrchaka) has been mentioned with the Jaṭādhārī, Kūrchadhārī (Kūrchī), Choṭīdhārī, Muḍiyā and Chīvaradhārīs in his commentary on *Uttarādhyāya-nasūtra* by Āchārya Śānti⁴. Therefore these ascetics mentio-

¹ Premi, N. R., *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 560.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, pp. 560-61.

⁴ Jaṭī kūrchi śikhī muṇḍī chīvarī nagna ēva cha/
tapyannapi tapāḥ kaṣṭam maudhyādhiṁsrō na siddhiyati//
Ibid, p. 561.

ned with them must have been the monks accustomed to grow beard and mustachios.

In a passage of *Vṛihalkaḥpasūtra's Laghu Bhāṣya* by Saṃghadāsa Gaṇin, the Āryikas have been prohibited to accept clothes from Kāpālikas, Bhikkhus (Buddhists) and from the Suivaḍīkuchhiyas. The meaning of Kūrchika has been given as Kūrchandhara or one who keeps both beards and mustachios.¹ In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to make any assumption regarding the Saṃgha of the Jaina Kūrchaka monks except that they seem to have been a sect of the Digambaras.

The Śvetāmbarasamāṇa Saṃgha

The first reference with regard to the Śvetāmbara Saṃgha is presented by an undated epigraph of king Vijayaśivamṛigeśvarma² who made certain land grants to them. The existence of the Śvetāmbaras is further proved by the testimony of Mathura Jaina epigraphs which go to prove beyond doubt the inclusion of nuns in the Jaina Saṃgha of Mathura and thereby its Śvetāmbara nature. The Digambaras were opposed to the inclusion of women in the Jaina Saṃgha.

Devasena in his *Darśansara* has included this Śvetāmbara sect in the list of his five false Jaina schools. The management and cultivation of land under the possession of the Śvetāmbara temples could be inferred from the epigraphs whose credence has been noted above.

The Jaina references regarding the Śvetāmbaras in South, are quite meagre, and hence anything could hardly be said about them with certainty. The evidences with regard to the divisions and subdivisions of the Śvetāmbara saṃgha in south are also scanty.

¹. Premi N. R., *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihāsa*, pp. 661-62.

². Fleet, *I.A.*, Vol. VII, No. 37, pp. 37-38 : *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, No. 98, pp. 69ff.

The Yāpanīyas

The further divisions of the Jaina saṃgha, are not known from the records under consideration here. Though the names of Naṃdi saṃgha, Punnāgavṛikṣhamūlagaṇa and Śrī kīrtiyāchā yānvaya are known from a later epigraph of 812 A. D.¹ The Nandisaṃgha of the Yāpanīyas² should not be confused with the homonymous religious organisation of the Digambaras.

The knowledge of Jaina Gaṇas etc. rests mainly on the epigraphic sources. The inscriptions under consideration here are not in possession of a vast information, with regard to the topic to be dealt with. The Gaṇas known to us from our inscriptions, and their divisions and subdivisions will be dealt with in detail here in corroboration with their references from the Jaina literary sources.

The Kōṭṭiya Gaṇa and its branches

The inscriptions from Mathura prove the existence of Kōṭṭiya Gaṇa³, all of its Kula divisions and some of its Śākhā divisions. The Kula divisions under this Gaṇa as known from our inscriptions are four in number i.e. (1) Brahmadāsikā⁴,

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1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 340-345; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 124, pp. 131 ff.
 2. See 'Schools in the Jaina Church', ch. III.
 3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 15, 22, 24, 11, 28 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, Nos. XII, XXXVII, XIII, XVIII, XX, XXII, XXIV; Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. III, Nos. XXI & XXV; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. V. pp. 36-37; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 35, 40, 42, 54, 55, 56, 59, 66, 68, 70, 74;
 4. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. I, IV, V, XIV; *Ibid*, Vol. II, No. XXXVII; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. V, pp. 36-37 & No. XIV, pp. 103 ff; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 19, 20, 22, 23, 31, 35 & 50.

(2) Vachchhaliya,¹ (3) Thāniya or Sthāniya,² and (4) Paṇḥavāhaṇaya.³ But the Śākhā divisions known from the epigraphs are only 3 in number, namely (i) the Ucchenāgarī śākhā,⁴ (ii) Vairī or Vēri Śākhā (or vajrī),⁵ and (iii) the Majjmā Śākhā.⁶ Besides these, two Saṃbhōga divisions (which will be dealt with later on), named Sirika⁷ and Śrīgrīha⁸ Saṃbhōgas respectively are known.

The Jaina *Kālpasūtra* contains some important references with regard to this and other Gaṇas. The *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Kālpasūtra* credits Susthita and Supratibuddha as the two conjoint founders of Kauṭika Gaṇa⁹ (perhaps identical with the Koṭṭika Gaṇa of the inscriptions). this Gaṇa ultimately got split up into four different Kula divisions namely: (i) the Bambhalijjī (or the Brahmaliptaka), (ii) the Vachchhalijja (or Vātsaliya), (iii) The Vāṇijja (or the Vāṇiya), and (iv) the Praśnavāhanaka Kulas.¹⁰ The Kauṭika Gaṇa of the

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XIII; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 27.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. III, VII, VIII, XXI, XXII, XXVIII; *Ibid*, Vol. II, Nos. XV, XVIII & XXIX; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 29, 30, 40, 42, 54, 55, 56, 68, & 83.

3. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XXII; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 66.

4. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. I, IV, V, & XIV; *Ibid*, Vol. II, Nos. VI, XXIV & XXXVII; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, Nos. V & XIV, pp. 36-37 & 103 ff; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 19, 20, 22, 23, 31, 35, 36, 50, 70.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. III, VII, VIII, XXI, XXII, XXVIII; *Ibid*, Vol. II, Nos. XV, XVIII, XX; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 29, 30, 40, 42, 54, 55, 56; 59, 63.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XXII; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 66.

7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. 28, 7; *J. S. S.* Vol. II, Nos. 30, 42.

8. *I. A.*, Vol. 33, No. 5. pp. 36-37 & *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, 14, 3, 4, 21; *Ibid*, Vol. II, Nos. 37-38, *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 20, 22, 23, 29, 31, 54, 55.

9. Jacobi, H., *The Kalpasutra*, S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. 292.

10. *Ibid*.

Kalpasūtra was further divided into four Śākhā subdivisions, which were (1) The Uchchanāgarī, (2) The Vidyādhari, (3) The Vajrī and (4) The Majjhimilla or Madhyamikā Śākhās¹. As the tradition of *Kalpasūtra* narrates, the Śākhās must have derived their designations from their founders. Thus in *Kalpasūtra*, the founders of Kauṭika Gaṇa, are said to have had five common disciples, four out of whom are said to have founded the four Śākhās of this Gaṇa.² The equation of the homonymous epigraphic and *Kalpasūtra* Gaṇas, Kula, and Śākhā divisions becomes clear from the table given below :

KOṬṬIKA (KAUṬIKA) GAṆA ³			
The Kulas		The Śākhās	
Kalpsūtrika	Epigraphic	Kalpasūtrika	Epigraphic
(1) Bambhalijja ⁴	Brahmadāsikā	Uchchhanāgarī	Uchchhēnagarī ⁵
(2) Vachchhlījja	Vachchhalīya	Vijjāharī	Vidyādhari
(3) Vaṇijja	Thāṇīya ⁶	Vajrī	Vairī
(4) Praśnavāhanaka	Paṇhavāhaṇaya	Madhyamikā	Majjhamā

The *Kalpasūtra* contains not even a single reference to the Saṃbhoga divisions of the Jaina community.

It may here be suggested that in no instance the Brahma-dāsika Kula is mentioned with any of the three remaining

1. Jacobi; H., *The Kalpasutra*, p. 292.

2. Ibid., Santisenika founded the Uchchhanāgarī Śākhā, Vidyādhara Gopāla was the founder of Vidyādhari Śākhā Priyagantha was the founder of Madhyamā Śākhā (p. 293) and most probably (though it is not stated) Ārya Vajra, was the founder of Vajrī Śākhā.

3. cf. S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 516.

4. For its identification see Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 397.

5. This seems to be identical to the fort of Uchchhānagar, in the district of Bulandshahar, whose ancient name was Varāṇa or Barāṇa, see Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 379.

6. Or Sthānīya Kula.

Śākhās of this Gaṇa but that known as Uchchhenāgari Śākhā. So like Thā (Sthā) ṇiya Kula is always mentioned with Vairi or Vajri Śākhā; likewise is the instance of Paṇhavāhaṇaya Kula and Majhamā Śākhā¹ But the scanty inscriptions which unfortunately are mutilated and fragmentary as well, bearing the name of Vachchhaliya² Kula contain no name of its counter part or the Śākhā-division. More or the less, similar is the case with Vidyādhari Śākhā³, the epigraphs mentioning it do not refer to its Kula division from which it could be said to have branched off. But as in all the cases, the Śākhā divisions contain the name of the same Kula division, from which they might have originated, it could easily be said that the Vachchhaliya Kula and Vijjāhari Śākhā, must have some sort of a relationship. The inference should be accepted as no other information is to be found from any sort of the present sources.

The lines of the spiritual ancestors related to this gaṇa and its many divisions and subdivisions will now be considered graphically.

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- ¹. Their relation could further be assumed from the statement of Rajśekhara mentioned at the end of *Prabandhakōṣa* (c. 1405), wherein he says :

Śrī Praśnavāhanakulē Koṭikanāmaṇi gaṇē Jagadviditē
 Śrī madhyamśīkhāyām haṣapuriyabhidhē gachchhē //
 Maladhārivirudavidita Śrī abhayōpapadasūrisaṃtānē /
 Śrī tilakasūriśiṣyaḥ sūriḥ śrī rājāsekharōjayati //
 cf. Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. I, pp. 165ff.

- ². *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. 13; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 27.
³. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XXXIX, pp. 210-11; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 92.

(40)

KOṬṬIYA (KAUṬIKA) GAṆA(1) Brahmadasika Kula Ucchchanāgari Śākhā

(I) Ārya Jyeṣṭhahasti

|
 Ārya Mihila (Mihir) Ārya Mahala Ārya Gādhaka
 |
 Ārya Kṣhēraka (Kṣhairaka) Āryā Shāmā (a nun)
 (II) Ārya Jayamitra
 (a vṛihaṃta vāchaka)

|
Ārya Ōgha|
Ārya Pāla

|
 Ārya Datta
 (Śrāddhachara of a gaṇin, Āryapāla)

|
 Ārya Siṃha (Siha)
 (a vāchaka in the Śrīgriha Saṃbhōga)
 (III) Ārya Balatrata

|
Ārya Sadhi

|
 Āryā Grarhā(?)
 (a nun)

(2) Vachchhalijja KulaVidyādhari Śākhā(3) Thāniya KulaVairī Śākhā(I) Ārya Baladina (datta)
(a vāchaka)

|
 Ārya Mātridina (datta)
 (a vāchaka in Śrīgriha Saṃbhōga)

(II) Ārya Baladina¹ (datta)

|
 Āryā Kumāramitā
 (a vāchikā in Śrīkā Saṃbhōga)

(III) Ārya Saṃgha Siṃha

(IV) Ārya Gōdāsa (a gaṇin)

(V) Ārya Ghastuhasti

(a vāchaka in Śrīgriha Saṃbhōga)

|
Ārya Divita²¹. Perhaps the two Baladinas (dattas) are identical.². Ārya Divita was a Śrāddhachara of Ārya Maṅguhasti, a gaṇin.

(VI) Ārya Hastahasti

|
Ārya Deva¹

(a vāchaka in Śrīgriha Saṃbhoga)

(VII) Ārya Vṛiddhahasti

(a vāchaka)

|
Ārya Kharṇṇa

(a gaṇin)

(VIII) Ārya-Arha (dina)

|
Āryā Dhāmāthā

(a nun in Śrīgriha Saṃbhoga)

(4) Paṇhavāhaṇaya Kula² Majhamā Śākhā(I) Ārya Deva datta³|
Ārya Kṣhēma**Vāraṇa Gaṇa³**

The mention of the Vāraṇa Gaṇa in the epigraphic sources concerning the divisions in the Jaina religious organisation, is second only to the Koṭṭika Gaṇa. The divisions and subdivisions of Vāraṇa Gaṇa⁴ as recorded in the inscriptions support the existence of the Śvetāmbara tradition. The Mathura Jaina epigraphs show the existence of its eight 'Kula' divisions, which are (1) Ārya Hāṭṭakiya Kula⁵ (2) The Peta-

¹. Ārya Deva was a Śrāddhachara of Ārya Maṅghahasti, a gaṇin.

². Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. I, pp. 165 ff.

³. The ancient name of the modern district of Bulandashah r was, no doubt 'Varaṇa or Baraṇa', from whence this Gaṇa might have originated. See, Buhler., *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 379.

⁴. Vāraṇa Gaṇa is known from various inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. VI, IX, XI, XX, XXIII, XXX, XXXIV; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, Nos. 11, 16, 19, 28, 36; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 17, 34, 37, 41, 44, 45, 47, 52, 58, 76, 80, 82.

⁵. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. 11, 34; *Ibid*, Vol. II, No. 11; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 17, 44, 80.

vāmika Kula,¹ (3) The Puṣyamitriya Kula,² (4) The Ārya Chetiya Kula,³ (5) The Ayyabhista Kula⁴, (6) The Kaniyasika Kula,⁵ (7) The Nāḍika Kula,⁶ and (8) The (Vachchhali) yātō Kula.⁷ Besides these, the names of the Śākhā divisions of this Gaṇa are also considerably larger. They are all namely (1) The Vajjanagari Śākhā,⁸ (2) The Hāritamālakaḍhi Śākhā,⁹ (3) The Sam(kāsiyā) Śākhā¹⁰ and (4) Ōda Śākhā,¹¹ with the Saṃbhōga¹² divisions known as Śirika¹³ and Śrīgriha.¹⁴

In the whole of the *Kalpasūtra*, there is not a single reference corresponding to Vāraṇa Gaṇa of our epigraphic records. Probably Vāraṇa was the original name of the gaṇa which later

1. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. 20, 30; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 34, 47.
2. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. VI; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 37.
3. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. IX; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 45.
4. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XXXVI; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 52.
5. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. XXII; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 76.
6. Ibid., Vol. II, No. XXIX; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 83.
7. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XVI; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 41.
8. Ibid., Vol. I, Nos. 11, 34; Ibid., Vol. II, No. 11; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 17, 44, 80.
9. Ibid., Vol. I, No. 9; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 45.
10. Ibid., Vol. II, No. 36; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 52.
11. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 23; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 76.
12. Buhler presumed the probability of the existence of three Saṃbhoga divisions under the Vāraṇa Gaṇa, *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-331, but however this suggestion has no basis to stand upon.
13. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. 11, 34; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 44, 80.
14. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. 36; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 52.

came to be known as Chāraṇa gaṇa due to a clerical mistake. It should be noted in this connection that the letters *Va* and *Cha* in Brāhmi are written almost similarly. However, it could rightly be placed as a second common designation for the Chāraṇa¹ Gaṇa in the *Kalpasūtra*: Śrī Gupta of the Hārīti Gōtra is said to have been the founder of this Gaṇa², which ultimately got split up into seven Kulas i.e. (1) Vātsaliya or Vachhalijja, (2) The Prītidharmika, (3) The Mālayaka or Mālijja, (4) The Hāridraka or Hālijja, (5) The Puṣyamitrikā or Pūsamittijja, (6) The Ārya Chetaka and (7) The Kṛṣṇasakhā or Kaṇhasaha, and four Śākhās i.e. (1) Hārītimālākārī, (2) Saṃkāsikā, (3) Gavēdhukā, and (4) The Vajranāgarī.³ An equation of the homonymous names, of the Kulas and the Śākhās, as known from the two differing testimonies of the epigraphs and the *Kalpasūtra* will be made clear by the following table :

VĀRAṆA(CHĀRAṆA)GAṆA

The Kulas		The Śākhās	
Kalpasūtric	Epigraphic	Kalpasūtrika	Epigraphic
1. Hālijja	Arya Hāṭṭakiya ⁴	Vajranāgarī Śākhā ⁵	Vajranāgarī

1. Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. III, pp. 333-340; *I. S. J.*, p. 55.
2. Jacobi, H., *Kalpasūtra*, (S.B.E.) Vol. XXII, p. 291.
3. Jacobi, H., *Kalpasutra*, (S.B.E.), Vol. XXII, pp. 291-92.
4. Buhler has identified it with Hālijja Kula of *Kalpasutra*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 378.
5. Buhler held that its Sanskrit equivalent will correctly be Vārjanāgarī and not Vajranāgarī, which would go to mean 'the Śākhā of Vrijjinagara' the capital of the people of Vrijji country where Mahāvira is said to have travelled to preach his faith, (*Ā. Sū.*, Vol. XXII, p. 84.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 378). But contradicting in *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 333 ff., he connects it to Vajrāchārya (1st cent. A. D.) known to later Jaina Paṭṭāvalis (*I.A.*, Vol. XI, pp. 247-52).

2. Prītidha¹-Petavāmika
rmika or Prīti-
varmika

3. Pūsamittija² Puṣyamitriya

4. Ārya Chēṭaka³ Ārya Chēṭiya Hārītamālākārī⁴ Hārītamā-
or Gaḍhi lākaḍhī

5. Ayyabhista Saṃkāsikā Saṃ(kāsiyā)

6. Kaniyasika⁵ Kaṇhasaha Òda Śākhā

7. Mālijja⁶ Nādika

8. Vachchhalijja⁷ (Vachchhaliyāto)

The remaining Kula and branch divisions beiora which there are gaps could not be equated with one or the other of the two divisions known from either of the sources, namely epigraphic or *Kalpasūtrika*. Among such of the sort is one

1. This line was founded by Prītivarmana, *V.O.J.*, Vol. III, pp. 333 ff.
2. For this identification see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 378.
3. Or Ajja Chēḍaya Kula, (*Kalpasūtra*, Jacobi, p. 291); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 378.
4. Or 'The Śākhā of the fort called Hārītamāla', see Buhler *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 378.
5. As Buhler rightly suggests it should not be rendered by 'Kṛishṇaśākhā' in imitation of the Commentators, but to denote 'Kaniyasa or the smallest, the youngest,' as Prof. Leumann pointed out to him, *V.O.J.*, Vol. III, pp. 333 ff. It has nothing similarly to be connected with the name of Kanishka, the Kuṣhāna king.
6. This identification has been suggested by Buhler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 198.
7. The Vachchhalijja is the only *Kalpasūtrika* Kula which could be rightly corresponded to the epigraphic (Vachchha) liyāto Kula; cf. also for this Gaṇa, S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 513.

Kula division, by name Ayyabhista¹, known from the inscriptions only and two Śākhā divisions, i. e. Gavedhukā (known also from *Kalpasūtra*) and Ōda (known from epigraphs) Śākhās are important. The cause of this failure with regard to its identification could be nothing but a matter of inference.

Oral transmission of knowledge from generation to generation was well known in ancient India. This system of study was so deeply rooted in the ancient Indian tradition that a departure from this was considered an irreligious act. A great importance was attached to the proper pronunciation of the Vedic hymns, whose wrong citation had the power to bring calamities on the chanter of the verse. But in course of time this practice came to be a purely religious and conventional one. Therefore, written system of study not only that of the Vedic hymns, but that of almost all ancient Indian branches of learning were completely given up to be studied orally. The Jainas, in no way seem to have proved themselves an exception to this system and the epigraphic testimony goes to support this hypothesis. The absence of the Ayyabhista-kula and Ōda Śākhā in the Jain canonical works could only be said to have been due either to the said oral system of study or that later it fell into insignificance.

In the chart given below the names of the monks and the nuns, known from inscriptions to be related to Vāraṇa Gaṇa and its various subdivisions are specified.

1. This Kula designation "may be an abbreviated spelling for Āryya Anīyasa(to) and correspond to a Prakṛita corruption of Ārya Kaṇīyasa, another equivalent for which Ārya Kaṇīyasika" could be easily taken from inscription No. XXIII of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 392. In this way Buhler identifies it with the Kaṇhasaha Kula. Further there are no sound reasons to accept Ayyabhista or-nista Kula as an abbreviation of Ārya Anīyasa (Kaṇīyasa=Kaṇīyasika=Kaṇhasaha); to me it seems to have been a separate and independent Kula division.

VĀRAṆA (CHĀRAṆA) GAṆA¹

(1) Hāṭṭakiya Kula

Vajānagarī Śākhā

(I) Ārya Puṣyamitra

|
Shaṣṭhisimha(II) Dati
(Dantin)Balavarmā²

Naṇḍā (a nun)

|
Akakā³

(a nun of Śrīka Saṃbhōga)

(2) Petavāmika Kula

xxx Śākhā

(I) Ōha (Ōgha) Naṇḍ

|
Sena

(3) Puṣyamitriya Kula

xxx Śākhā

(I) Ārya Datta

|
Graha (pra) ki (va)

(4) Ārya Cheṭiy a Kula

HāritimālāgaḍhiŚākhā

(I) Haga Nandi

|
Nāgasēna

(5) Ayyabhista Kula

Saṃkāsiyā Śākhā

(I Samadi

(Vāchaka, M āhāvāchaka & Gaṇin)

Dinar⁴|
Āryā Jinadāsī|
Ārya Ghakaraba (?)

(6) Kaṇhasaha Kula

|
Ōda Śākhā¹ Cf. also S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*. p. 515.² Balavarmā does not seem to have been a nun as Buhler shows in *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, p. 318 (Chart).³ Akakā was a Śraddhācharī of Mahanandin, a disciple of Dantin.⁴ Dinar might have been a disciple of Samadi but due to the mutilation of the epigraph which might have contained such an indication, he has been placed on the same status with Samadi, as a co-teacher of Āryā Jinadāsī.

(7) Nādika (Mālījja) Kula

xxx Śākhā

(1) Uggahini (a gaṇin)

|

Ghoshaka
(a vāchaka)

(8) (Vachchhalī)ya Kula

xxx Śākhā

(I) Ārya Nāmdika

Āryoddehika Gaṇa

Next to Vāraṇa (Chāraṇa) Gaṇa comes the Gaṇa known as Āryoddehika¹, both in order and importance. The epigraphic records referring to this Gaṇa, its various minor divisions and monks and nuns related to this Gaṇa are small in number as compared to those of Koṭṭika and Vāraṇa Gaṇas.

The Uddehikiya Gaṇa, would literally go to denote "the white ant school."² But this designation should not be taken in its literal sense and therefore it points possibly to the hardness of penance and deep meditation which the monks and nuns of this Gaṇa, generally would have observed thereby enabling the white ants to raise anthills over their bodies. The inscriptions from Mathura furnish evidences with regard to the two of its Kula divisions, namely Nāga-bhūtiya³ and Paridhāsika,⁴ and a Śākhā division called Pretaputrikā.⁵

The *Sthavirāvali* of the *Kalpasūtra*, furnishes considerable information with regard to this line of spiritual preceptors. Ārya Rohaṇa, founded this Uddeha Gaṇa, which ultimately

¹. Buhler. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. XIX; *I.A.*, Vol. XXXII, No. 23, pp. 108-9; *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 24 and 69.

². Buhler, *V.O.J.*, Vol. II, pp. 141ff. cf. Vārāhamihira (XIV. 5) used the term Uddeha to denote a 'set of Indian people.'

³. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 19; *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, No. 24.

⁴. *I.A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 23, pp. 108-9; *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, No. 69.

⁵. Ibid.

got split up into six Kula divisions, namely, Nāgabdhūta (or Nāgabdhūya), Somabhūta, Ullagachchha (or Ādrakachchha), Hastilīpta (or Hatthilījja), Nāṇḍaka (or Naṇḍijja), and Parihāsaka; and four Śākhā divisions, which were, Udumbarika (or Udumbarijjiya), Māsapūrikā Mātāpatrikā and Pūrṇapatrikā.¹

The table given below, will equate clearly the similar Kula and Śākhā divisions of the epigraphs to those known from the *Kalpasūtra* :

UDDEHIKA (UDDEHA) GAṆA			
The Kulas		The Śākhās	
Kalpasūtrika	Epigraphic	Kalpasūtrika	Epigraphic
1. Nāgbhūta ²	Ārya Nāgabhutikiya		
2. Parihāsaka	Paridhāsika	Punnapattiya	Pretaputrikā ³
		or	
		Pūrṇapatrikā	

The names of the prominent monks and nuns who belonged to this Gaṇa are given in the following chart.

¹ Jacobi, H., *Kalpasūtra*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. 290.

² This line of spiritual preceptors, seems to have derived its name from its founder Nāgabdhūti, *V. O. J.*, Vol. II, pp. 141-46.

³ Buhler changes it to Ponapatrikā and equates it with Sanskrit Paurṇapatrikā, *I. S. J.*, p. 56; cf. S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 517.

ĀRYODDEHIKA(UDDEHA)GAṆA

- (1) Nāgbhutikiya Kula
- xxx Śākhā

(I) Ārya Buddhaśiri (or Śri)

(a gaṇin)

|
Ārya Saṃdhika

(a vāchaka)

|
Āryā Jayā¹

(a nun)

(II) Ārya Goṣṭha(?);²

- (2) Paridhāsika Kula

Pretaputrikā Śākhā

(I) Ārya Dēvadatta³

(a gaṇin)

|
Ārya KṣhemaVetvūṭika Gaṇa

The end of Uddeha Gaṇa marks a sudden diminution of our epigraphic knowledge of the Jaina Gaṇas of Śvetāmbara denomination. But a mention of (Me)hika Kula,⁴ from a mutilated record, provides some scope to dwell upon it. The

1. *Gaṇisya Āryya Buddhaśirisya Śiṣyō vāchakō Āryya Sa(mdhi)-kasya Bhaginī Āryyā Jayā*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 19; *J.S.S.*, Vol. II, No. 24, p. 23; as the inscription mentions Āryā Jayā as a Bhaginī of Ārya Saṃdhika, Buhler presumes that she must have been a disciple of Buddhaśri, *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-331. In the same way, the seven sisters (or co-disciples) of Śihūlabhadra, under Sambhūta Vijaya, have been mentioned.

2. The relationship of the two preceding teachers with Ārya Goṣṭha could not be said with certainty, as the epigraph after the latter's name is mutilated. He might have been a disciple of Ārya Saṃdhika.

3. ... *gaṇisya āryya Devadattasya na ... (Ā)ryya Kṣhemasya*, *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 23, pp. 108-9; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 69, p. 47.

4. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 12, pp. 382 and 388. cf. S. B. Dco., *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 518.

epigraph, a fragmentary one is silent as to the name of the Gaṇa it belonged.

In *Kalpasūtra*, the only Kula division resembling the epigraphic (Me)hika is known as Maighika¹, under Veśvātika Gaṇa, founded by one Kāmariḍḍhī, whose other three Kula divisions were known as Gaṇika, Kāmariḍḍhika and Indrapuraka with four Śākhā subdivisions, designated as, Śrāvas-tikā, Rājyapālikā, Antarañjikā and Kṣhemliptikā.²

The names of none of the monks and nuns related to this Gaṇa are to be found. This points towards the fact that this school of the Jaina church was not so numerous and important as it was in the case of other such divisions, referred to above.

In brief this was the history and working of these institutions at that time, after which most of these Gaṇas, etc., with a few exceptions, were nearly forgotten.

The inscription, which narrates the spiritual line of Ārya Siha, shows that the Kauṭika Gaṇa flourished at about the beginning of the Christian era. The mention of Kauṭika Gaṇa proves the existence of the traditional division of the original Jaina Saṃgha to a still earlier period, probably as contained in the *Kalpasūtra*, i. e., c. 250 B. C.³ Further the prevalence of the office of Vāchakas in the Jaina Saṃgha, shows the existence of some of their ancient works, whose proper interpretation and teaching to the illiterate was assigned to them⁴.

It has often been asserted that the Jainas allowed the entrance of the womenfolk in their order, in imitation of

¹ For this identification see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 3.9.

² Jacobi, H., *Kalpasūtra*, S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. 291.

³ Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 379-80; cf. *I. A.*, Vol. XI, p. 380.

⁴ Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. I, pp. 165-70.

the Buddhists. But it does not seem to be plausible¹ to say that they initiated the entry of women in their order in imitation. Our inscriptions mention many names of the nuns, some of which held important and responsible posts, besides being ordinary nuns. Buhler has even gone to the extent of naming the Jaina order of the first century A.D. as a 'refuge' of the then widows². It seems probable, that few but the widows entered the order. But this does not mean that other religiously inclined women were not admitted to it. In any case, the fact that the Jaina nuns at that time had an influence over their order is very clear from the available facts.

The Gaṇas

The epigraphic Gaṇas though corroborated by the literary tradition of *Kalpasūtra*, require further explanation. The division of "monks into various units like the Śākhās, Kulas, Gaṇas and Sambhogas seems to have been at least as old as the second century B. C. It is possible that it may go back even further".³ But the traditional accounts make it older still. To Jacobi, it was not exactly clear, as to what was 'meant by Gaṇa, Kula and Śākhā'⁴. All the four orders, which completed the following of Lord Mahāvīra were under the headship of 14,000 monks, which were again placed under the supervision of the eleven Gaṇadharas of the Lord, who himself divided the whole Jaina Community under nine regular schools known as Gaṇas⁵. Later on these Gaṇas themselves split up into various Kulas and Śākhās or succession of teachers in a line, and lines branching off from each of such teachers. This order of the division of the Jaina Community shows that it was well built and planned accordingly on sound footings.

¹. Ibid, Vol. IV, pp. 169-73., see above in this chapter.

². Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 313-31.

³. S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 519.

⁴. Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, S. B. E. Vol. XXII, p. 288.

⁵. Stevenson, (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 65 ff.

The Saṃbhogas

The Saṃbhoga divisions are known only from the epigraphs. They have nowhere been mentioned in the Jaina literature. The question with regard to the nature of these Saṃbhogas, is a controversial one. But the mode in which they have been referred to seems to indicate their being the smallest and last unit of Jaina monastic order of the Kula and branch type, though minor to them both in order and precedence. The word Saṃbhoga was taken to indicate 'religious community'¹. Taking this word in the Digambara sense of the term Prof. Leumann took it to mean a district community². It becomes clear from the epigraphs that the schools etc. of the Jains were further divided over and those which are known to the *Sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra*³. The absence of the Saṃbhoga divisions in the *Sthavirāvalī* is the most brilliant example. Besides certain Gaṇa and Śākhā divisions as well are known only from the epigraphic sources. While dealing with the Vāraṇa Gaṇa we have mentioned eight of its Kula divisions, whereas, *Kalpasūtra* gives only seven corresponding names, and only four Śākhā designations. Besides these, two Kula divisions and one Śākhā or branch line could not be equated with any of the corresponding names known from our inscriptions.

It seems probable that a Kula division had only one śākhā subdivision. For Hāṭṭakiya Kula is mentioned only with the Vajaṇagarī Śākhā. There is no such instance in which any other Kula or Śākhā is mentioned with either of these. And hence we are inclined to believe that a particular Kula division had a particular Śākhā subdivision. As noted above, it becomes still more confirmed that the Jaina Community was further divided than the divisions known to the tradition of *Kalpasūtra*. Some of these divisions are known from epigra-

¹. Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. III, pp. 330-40.

². *Idid.*

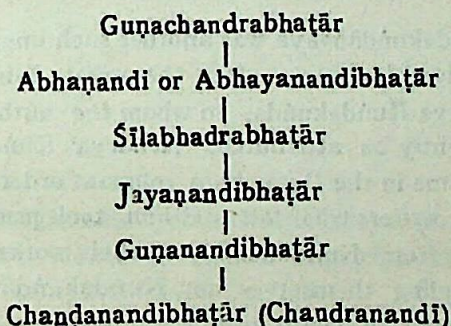
³. *Ibid.*

phical sources alone. Further the omission of the Sambhoga divisions in the literary history of the Jaina Church confirms the proposed hypothesis, thereby showing a great gap in the nomenclature of the system which was handed down orally¹.

If the proposed interpretation of the term as forwarded by Prof. Leumann be accepted, it will become clear that it was a common term used to denote the smallest local (or district) unit of the Jaina Community. The epigraphs from Mathura record two different designations of the Sambhogas as Śirika and Śrīgrīha. The Śirika Sambhoga seems to have been founded by some Ārya or Venerable Śrī².

The Gaṇas of South

An inscription³ from Merkara (Coorg) dated 466 A. D, of the Kadamba king Koṅgaṇivarmā II, records the name of Deśiga Gaṇa and Kuṇḍakuṇḍānvaya, to which a line of spiritual ancestors is said to have belonged :



The inscription mentions a spiritual line of Jaina preachers, extending upto six degrees. This leads one to presume that the earliest teacher mentioned here must have flourished either at the end of the third century or at the beginning of the fourth century A. D.

1. Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. I. pp. 165-70.

2. Ibid; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 393.

3. *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 95.

None of the other inscriptions under the range of our time, contain references with regard to such institutions. Deśiga Gaṇa was a branch of the popular Mūlasaṃgha, which itself was a common designation of the Digambara Jaina Community, specially in the inscriptions,¹ as has been shown elsewhere. But this indication of the term was not only confined to the epigraphic compositions, for in *Darśanasāra*, its author Devasena has narrated five pseudo-Jaina sects as Śvetāmbara, Yāpanīya, Drāviḍa, Kāṣṭhā and Māthura Saṃghas, excepting which the whole of the Jaina following was included in the Mūlasaṃgha.² Thus these five sects and the Digambaras together constitute the Jaina religious community.

Deśiga Gaṇa thus was a division of this Mūlasaṃgha, i.e. the Digambara Jaina following. This Deśiga Gaṇa seems to have been a subdivision of the Naṃdi Gaṇa, which is supported from an inscription, of Śaka 1085, from Śrāvanabēlgōlā.³ This Deśiga Gaṇa had many other subdivisions, Pustakagachcha of which was the most important.

The Kuṇḍakuṇḍānvaya was another such line, which seems to have derived its name after the great Jaina teacher of south, Āchārya Kuṇḍakuṇḍa, to whom the authorship of this line could rightly be attributed. Āchārya Kuṇḍakuṇḍa, was so great a name in the Digambara religious order that all the teachers and writers who followed him took pride in tracing their descent from Kuṇḍakuṇḍa, in their works, genealogies etc., by styling themselves as Kuṇḍakuṇḍānvayī.⁴ This proposed suggestion could well be supported from epigraphic evidences though of a later date. In an inscription from

1. Jain, H. L., J. S. S., Vol. I, Int. p. 144.

2. Premi, N. R., *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p. 485.

3. Ityādyuddhamunīndra Śaṅtatinidhau Śrī Mūlasaṃghe tato/ Jāte Naṃdigaṇaḥ abheda vilasadeśiganeviśrute // J. S. S., Vol. I, No. 40 (64), p. 25.

4. Chakravarti, *Jaina Gazette*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-2.

Śrāvaṇa Bēlgōla, dated A. D. 1000, Kuṇḍakuṇḍa has been styled as Agragaṇī of the Mūlasamgha.¹

Thus the spiritual line of Guṇachandraḥṣṭār belonged to the Deśiga Gaṇa and Kuṇḍakuṇḍānvaya of the Mūlasamgha.

-
1. Śrīmato vardhamānasya varddhāmānasya śāsanē /
 Śrī Kuṇḍakuṇḍanāmābhūmūla Samghāgragaṇī //
 J. S. S., Vol. I, No. 55 (69), p. 115.

But this verse is in contradiction with a similar verse of *Sudarśanacharita* wherein the same adjective has been employed for Ratnakirti, author of *Bhadrabāhucharita*, a work of 1500 V. E. The verse is :

Mūlasamghāgragaṇīritya ratnakīrtirgururmahān.

In this line the position of Ratnakirti seems to have been greatly exaggerated. He might have held the office of the head patriarch, of this sect, however, during his, time. See *Bhadrabāhucharita*, edited by Uḍailal Kashilal (Banaras), p. 3.

CHAPTER V

THE JAINA RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

The epigraphic testimony regarding the religious thought of the Jainas is very scarce and scattered. The inscriptions throw very little information on the subject and one is bound to be content with what one gets. According to the nature of the gathered ideas on religious thoughts of the Jainas, as found from the inscriptional bases, we are inclined to deal with them under three main heads, namely, ethics, metaphysics and the Jaina concept of Cosmos.

Deontology or Ethics

The later Brahmanism involved great ritualistic complexities which included among other things animal sacrifices with a view to please the deities. This became a common practise of the day. It is due to this reason that the common man ceased to have reverence and piety towards the animals and other minor creatures. And the then human mind, equipped with an ardent religious impulse aimed to erect its pleasure-palace of Mokṣa on the wilfull loss of the lives of the creatures. Animals were considered as objects of sacrifice,¹ to please the gods. The violence prescribed by the *Vedas* was not considered as an act of *hiṃsā*.²

-
1. Yajñārthā paśavaḥ aṣṭāḥ svayameva svayaṃabhuvā /
Yajñasya bhūtyai sarvasya tasmādyajñe vadhoavadhāḥ //
Manusmṛti (V, 39), edited by Darshananda Saraswati (Mathura).
 2. Yā vedavihitā hiṃsā niyatāsminścharācharē /
ahiṃsāmeva tāṃ vidyādvēdaddharmo hi nirvabhau //
Manusmṛti, (V, 44), edited by Darshananda Saraswati (Mathura).

As Jainism and Buddhism were the religious movements brought out against the established canons of the Brahmanic faith, they laid emphasis on the non-slaughter of animals. The Jainas held that every living being contained *Jiva* and therefore should be respected, honoured and loved and in no case be slaughtered. They held plants, animals, birds, insects and even invisible atomic creatures¹ as having a soul and therefore worthy of being treated as such. The Jainas took considerable pains not to hurt even the smallest of the creatures, consciously or unconsciously, "lest plants and animalculae be destroyed, the Jaina ascetic sweeps the ground before him as he goes, walks veiled lest he inhale a living organism, strains water, and rejects not only meat but even honey together with various fruits that are supposed to contain worms; not because he has distaste for worms, but because of his regard for life."² This statement could further be clarified, through a consideration of the prescribed rules and regulations for the Jaina monks and laity.

The *Āchārāṅgasūtra* of the Jainas lays down an exhaustive list of the rules to be observed and practised by the Jaina monks and liacs alike. They were asked to abstain from killing and to repent for their sins "in the three fold ways in mind, speech and body (i.e. acting, commanding, consenting either in past, or the present or the future)".³ A Jaina in order to practise the first vow of *Ahiṃsa*, was asked to walk carefully, to control his mind, and speech, to be careful to take and put down things, i.e. utensils etc., and to be careful with his food and drink, so that he may not cause injury to living beings.⁴ The second vow consists of abstention from all vices which result from lies, anger or greed, or fear or mirth.⁵

1. Sharma, S. R., *J. K. C.*, p. 133.

2. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 288.

3. Jacobi, H., *Ā. Sū.*, S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. 202.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-4.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

The third of these vows comprised abstention from, "taking of anything not given, either in a village or a town or a wood, either of little or much, of small or great, of living or lifeless things."¹

The fourth vow consisted of the renunciation of "all sexual pleasures, either with gods or men or animals."²

The fifth or the last vow consists of exemption of "all attachments"³ which are to involve people in the miseries and the sufferings of life.

This presents an idea of the way in which the Jaina morality was responsible to civilise and culturalise their monks and laity, and to make them an asset to the then society without falling an easy prey to the life torturing habits of violence, lying, theft, uncelibacy and *parigraha*. All of these five great vows of the Jainas are similar to those forwarded by Patanjali in his *Yoga Sūtras*.⁴

In the *Sāgaradharmmāmṛita* of Pt. Ashadhara (1235 A.D.)⁵ the rules of conduct, prescribed for the monks of the Jaina persuasion have been dealt with in detail.

Thus in brief, it could be said that no pains were spared, to avoid injury and violence towards living beings. These rules of conduct as narrated above show clearly the stress laid down on the principle of non-violence (*Ahimsā*) by the Jainas.

Epigraphic Corroboration

Our epigraphic sources regarding the principles of Jaina ethics and rules of conduct, as laid down for their order are though very scanty, yet no statement on this topic will be complete without them.

1. Ibid., pp. 206-7.

2. Ibid., pp. 207-8.

3. Ibid., pp. 208-10.

4. *Pūtanjala Yōga Sūtra*, Vol. II, pp. 35-39; *Ā. Sū.*, S. B. E. Vol. XXII, pp. 202-10.

5. Jaini, J. L., *O. J.*, pp. 68 ff.

The donative inscriptions from Mathura contain dedications etc. of the images of Jaina Tirthamkaras and gods which were all meant for the pleasure and well being of all the creatures.¹ This expression, in the *Sūtra* form, clearly depicts an idea of all embracing brotherhood, kindness and humanity of the Jainas. This itself could be taken to show that the Jaina monks and lay worshippers of the time remembered their moral and ethical doctrines, preached by their Tirthamkaras, and were cautious to devote their life for the practice and propagation of these humane principles. The dedications of the images etc. are likewise supported to have contained an implied meaning, that may the powerful Tirthamkaras, the Siddhas and the Arhatas enable their followers, to be on the rightful path and shower pleasure and happiness in favour of all living creatures preventing them all from sinful deeds. The follow and practice of pious acts were highly praised and conceived of as capable to bring so much spiritual consequences, which could not have been counted even by the Creator.²

On the other hand the neglect of pious deeds, of the rules of conduct and duties, may have brought immense calamities on them.

The Jaina concept of sin (*pāpa*) though could not be gathered from the Jaina records under review, but a recollection of the same could be attempted from the edicts of Aśoka containing his preachings on Dhamma. Aśoka while dealing with the negative side of his Dhamma, mentions the word *āsinava* (in P. E. III) as a variant of *pāpa* (sin) with another word *palisave*, which is said to have stood for

¹ *Sarvasattvāṇaṃhitasukhāyastu*, Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. 4 & 21; Vol. II, Nos. 18, 24, 37; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 5, pp. 36-37; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 20, 22, 31, 36, 54, 55.

² Fleet, *Ratta Inscriptions*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, 1875, p. 239.

*apunya*¹. The former word is similar to *āsava* or *āsrava* of Buddhism which signifies the same sense. But the said word does not seem to denote the types of *āsavas* according to Buddhism². These are *Chamḍiye* (violence), *Niṭhūliye* (cruelty), *Kodhe* (anger), *Māne* (conciety), and *Isyā* (envy) in the edicts³, and are quite unknown to the Buddhist scriptures. On the basis of the testimony presented by his edicts, Asoka, who had embraced Buddhism, does not appear to have adopted the Buddhist concept of *Āsrava*. This being so, it is tempting to speculate on the possible source of Asoka's idea of *Āsava*. "The Jains possess a term *Aṇhaya*", observes Buhler⁴, "which exactly corresponds to *Āsinava*, and is derived, like the latter, from *ā-snu*". *Aṇhaya* has been used in *Āyārāṃga Sūtra*⁵ in the sense of *sin*⁶. And as *Āsinava*⁷ or *Aṇhaya* is used as an equivalent of *pāpa* (sin), the Jaina source of borrowing becomes clear. Another word *parisava* used in the Xth R. E.⁸ is as well placed on the same level with *aṇhaya* or demerit.

In the sacred books of the Jains 18 types of sins and 42 kinds of *āśravas*⁹ have been enumerated. Of these, four types of sins (*pāpas*) are common to both of the said lists, they are: *Krodha*, *Māna*, *Māyā* and *Lobha*, collectively known as *Kaṣṭhāyas*, two of which are included in the edicts of king

- ¹ Bhandarkar, D. R., *Asoka*, p. 117.
- ² The types of *āsavas* according to the Buddhists are : *Kāmāsava*, *Bhāvāsava*, *Avijjāsava* and *Diṭṭhāsava*, Bhandarkar, D. R., *Asoka*, p. 117.
- ³ Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, No. 26, p. 58.
- ⁴ Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 250.
- ⁵ *Āyārāṃga Sūtra* (Pāli Text Society), p. 92.
- ⁶ Jacobi, H., *Āyārāṃga Sūtra*, S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. 151,
- ⁷ *no mina pāpaṃ (d)ekhati iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā āsinave nāmāti*, *Select Inscriptions*, No. 26, p. 58.
- ⁸ *Yesu tu parisave ya apvñajjñam (apunyaṃ)*, Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, No. 15, p. 31.
- ⁹ Stevenson, (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 116ff. & 139ff.

Asoka. The word *Isyā* of the inscriptions of Asoka is the same as the *Irṣhyā* or *Dveṣha* of the Jaina canonical works, dealing with the categories of *pāpa*. Though the terms *Chamdiye* and *Niṣhūliye* are not known to the Jaina works yet an idea of these can be traced from *himsā*, a kind of *āsrava*, which implies both of these terms. Hence, the use of *āsinava*, with the three passions i. e., *Krodha*, *Māna*, and *Isyā* at least of the Jainas, are enough to confirm the adoption of some of 'the psychological concepts of Jainism'¹ by Asoka.

This adoption and assimilation of the Jainistic ideas by Asoka could further be confirmed from the terms such as *Jiva*, *Pāṇa*, *Bhūta* and *Jāta*, corresponding with *pāṇābhūya Jivāsattā* mentioned in *Āchārāṅga Sūtra*². Asoka tried to draw a line of differentiation between *bhūta* and *prāṇa*, while describing the ethical duties of a man as *anāraṃbhōprāṇānām* and *avihi-sābhutānām*. Such a line of distinction is to be seen in the Jaina literature where the point has been discussed at a great length.

The assimilation of these conceptual ideas of the Jainas by king Asoka, shows that their ethical and philosophical concepts were highly developed and appreciated long before the King. Their adoption by the King shows that they were easily understood and hence widely popular.

It will not be anything wrong to say a word with regard to the imprecatory verses contained in most of our inscriptions from South³. The epigraphs were generally meant to

¹. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, p. 118.

². Jacobi, H., S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. 36, n. 1.

³. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Malur. tl. Nos. 72, 73; *I. A.*, Vol. VI, No. 20, pp. 22, 24; No. 21, pp. 24-25; No. 22, pp. 25-27; No. 23, pp. 27-9; No. 24, pp. 29-30; No. 25, pp. 30-31; No. 26, pp. 31-32; *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. 35, pp. 33-35; No. 36, pp. 35-37; No. 37, pp. 37-38; No. 44, pp. 209-217; *I. A.*, Vol. XI, No. 120, pp. 68-71; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 90, pp. 55-56; No. 94, pp. 60-62; No. 95, pp. 63-66; No. 96, pp. 66-7; No. 97, pp. 67-69; No. 98, pp. 69-72; No. 99, pp. 72-4; No. 100, pp. 74-6; No. 101, pp. 77-8; No. 102, pp. 78-9; No. 103, pp. 80-81; No. 104, pp. 81-82; No. 105, pp. 83-84; No. 106, pp. 85-90.

record land grants made by the ruling kings in favour of the sects of the Jainas. These verses are attributed to Manu¹ in some inscriptions but in others they are attributed to Vyāsa². The donations, the epigraphs contain the references of, were made in favour of the Jainas. The purpose of these imprecatory couplets had been to provide a check on those who might have proved injurious to the lands thus granted. The verses themselves show that one who seizes the land gifted will fall an easy prey to the five great sins. Conversely, the one who protects the gifted land will gather merits.

These should not be treated here in detail since they do not seem to have exercised any sort of influence over the corresponding Jaina system of thought. As these imprecatory verses are not peculiar to Jaina epigraphs alone, they point towards the predominance of the concept of the miseries associated with the Hindu or Brahmanic concept of Hell, over almost all classes of men, even those belonging to different prevailing faiths.³

Metaphysics : Soul and Matter

The concepts of soul and matter are very inadequately represented in the epigraphs. An important exception, however is the Hāthīgumphā cave inscription of king Kharavela which mentions the realisation of the beauty and importance

1. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Mālur, tl. Nos. 72-73; *I.A.*, Vol VI, No. 24, pp. 29-30; Vol. VII, No. 44, pp. 209-17; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 90, 94, 101 and 106.

2. *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 127, pp. 141-50.

3. It is quite possible that the followers of Brahmanical religion being large in number throughout the land, the lands gifted thus were thought to be in danger from them. Hence, as a precautionary measure quotations from Manu and Vyāsa were used to prevent them from confiscating the land.

of soul (*Jīva*) and matter or *Deha* (*Ajīva*).¹ These are the two most important principles of Jaina philosophy and will be explained in corroboration with the Jaina literary and philosophical works.

The philosophic foundation of the Jainas is mainly based on its concept of nine categories which are described as *Jīva*, *Ajīva*, *Puṇya*, *Pāpa*, *Āśrava*, *Samvara*, *Bandha*, *Nirjarā* and *Mokṣa*. *Jīva* is the first category of all these *Navatattvas*, and denotes soul (*Ātman*), Consciousness (*Chetanā*) and life. The *Jīva* concept of the Jainas is equivalent to the *Ātman* or *Puruṣa* of the 'pluralistic schools' of Indian thought.² The *Jīva* of the Jainas, when used for 'soul' is distinct from the Brāhmanic concept of soul. For according to the Jainas, the knowledge acquired by soul may be boundless but the *Jīva* itself is subject to limitations.³ The soul of the Jainas is eternal and non-eternal both. It is the enjoyer and the bearer of the consequences of its actions, is subject to cycle of birth and death, but ultimately obtains freedom by means of *Ratnatrayī*, through the destruction of its *Karma*.⁴ *Jīva* is divine in the sense that it obtains its Divinity and shines near the regions of *Alokākāśa*⁵, is all perfect and powerful, has lived in past, is living in present and will live in the future.⁶

Chētanā or consciousness has been termed as the defining characteristic of the substance of soul and is found only in case of the *Jīva*. *Jīva* is not perceptible but develops itself according to the frame of the body it adopts.⁷ The soul is

1. ...*Samśīlehi kāya.. jīva-deha sirikā parikkhitā*...*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80.
2. Sharma, C. D., *Indian Philosophy*, p. 74.
3. Stevenson, (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 94.
4. Nahar and Ghosh, *An Epitome of Jainism*, Ch. II, pp.25-6
5. Ibid., p. 26.
6. Jaini, J. L., *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 17.
7. *Pipīlikāpudgalaṃ prāpya pipīlikābhavati / - Hastipudgalaṃ prāpya hasti bhavati //* cf. Sharma, C. D. *Indian Philosophy*, p. 75.

like light and can dwell in the space with many other souls without coming into conflict with any one of them, as several lights may fill up the same space, without jeopardising the existence of other lights. *Jiva* is often characterised also as a subdivision of substance (*Dravya*).¹

So long as the *Jivas* are involved in the feelings of hatred desire, sin, aver and other such attachments, the soul is bound to incarnate itself, under the influence of the consequent fetters of *Karma*. Its physical incarnations, as enabled by the *Karmas* of bygone births, have ten *prāṇas* in case of the most developed *Jivas*, and four in case of the meanest species of the souls.

Divisions of Jiva

The Jaina division of *Jiva* is based on its 'class of beings', in which it was forced by the law of *Karma* to incarnate itself.² First of such divisions is classified among *siddha* (liberated) and *Samsāri* (mundane). *Siddha Jivas* are said to inhabit a region designated as *Iṣṭapṛagabhāra*, made of white gold and having the shape of an open umbrella.³ These lives, though invisible are possessed of life and all pleasure and happiness. The *Jivas* of *Samsāri* type are the residents of this world. The *Samsāri* type is thrice divisible. in male, female and neuter.⁴

The latter type of the *Jivas* are again to be classified in four divisions. according to the places of their birth, *Nāraki*, *Tiryāñcha* (like insects, birds, serpents, plants, animals, etc.), *Manuṣya* and *Devatā*.⁵

According to another classification they are divided in five classes on the basis of the number of the senses they possess : (1) *Ehendriya Jiva* : these are the *Jivas* of only one sense organ viz., the sense organ of touch, but they have four powers (*prāṇas*), viz, touch, body, exhaling and inhaling.

1. Stevenson, (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 95.

2. Ibid., p. 96.

3. S. B. E., Vol. XLV, p. 212.

4. Stevenson, (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 96.

5. Ibid.

The *Ekendriya jīvas* are themselves divisible in five classes: (1) *Prithvikāya*, (2) *Apakāya*, (3) *Teukāya*, (4) *Vāyukāya*, and (5) *Vanaspatikāya*. *Prithvikāya Jīvas* are like stones,¹ salts, and diamonds or the objects which belong to earth. Though ordinarily the suffering of such *jīvas* is not known to most of the persons but the *Kevalins*.² The *Apakāya* type of *Ekendriya jīvas* inhabit the still of waters, containing rain, dew, fog, liquidated snow and hail. The Jaina monks were prohibited to take ordinary water, which was conceived of as containing animalculae and hence they were asked to use boiled water.³ The *Jīvas* living in fire are known as *Teukāya*. Though the existence of *jīvas* in fire is generally accepted but their existence in lightning is controversial, although the testimony of *Uttarādhyāyana* confirms it.⁴ The *Vāyukāya jīvas* are said to inhibit cyclones, whirlwinds, monsoons, trade winds and west winds and are known only to the *Kevalins*. *Vanaspatikāya Jīvas* are twice divisible, namely in, *Pratyeka*, i. e. life of trees etc., and *Sādhāraṇa*, which are the objects like potatoes, onions etc. And hence these vegetables are not even to be touched by the orthodox Jāinas⁵.

After the *sthāvara (Ekendriya) jīvas* are the *trasa jīvas*. The *jīvas*, with two sense organs of touch and taste having six powers namely taste, touch, body, exhaling, inhaling and speech are known as *Dvīndriya*. The *jīvas* of this type are represented in worms and leeches. The real *Ahiṃsā* principle of the Jāinas starts from this class⁶ though the orthodox Jāinas avoid the killing of the *jīvas* of one sense organ even.

Trīndriya are the *jīvas* possessing the sense organs of touch,

¹ Jacobi points out that similar animistic beliefs go to prove the hoary antiquity of Jainism, S.B.E., Vol. XLV, p. 33. (Int.)

² Stevenson, (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 97-98.

³ Ibid., p. 98.

⁴ Jacobi, S. B. E., Vol. XLV, p. 217.

⁵ Stevenson, (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 99.

⁶ Ibid, p. 100.

taste and smell, with seven *prāṇas* and are represented in the smaller insects like ants, bugs, moths, and lice.

The *jīvas* of this class are endowed with four sense organs—touch, taste, smell and sight, and with eight *prāṇas*; bees, scorpions, wasps, mosquitos, gnats, flies, locusts and butterflies are the best representatives of this class.

The *Jīvas* of the next division are called *pañchakendriyas* and have all the five sense organs with an addition of the sense organ of hearing to the last mentioned list and with nine *prāṇas*. To some of such *jīvas* an extra sense organ of mind is attached, which are consequently known as *Samjñī* whereas those who are devoid of it and have only nine *prāṇas* are termed as *Asamjñī*. The *jīvas* of this class are of four types: Hell beings, lower animals, human beings, and demigods, all of which but those of the lower beings have intelligence. But some animals like cows, buffaloes etc. have some sort of intelligence unlike those of the frogs and fishes¹.

The *trasakāya jīvas* are further divided in 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 classes respectively.²

Matter

Matter is an element of *Ajīva*. *Ajīva* is of five distinct types, the first of which is known to the sacred literature of the Jains as *Pud-gala* (= *Pudgala*) or to combine and to dissociate respectively. It has no life like soul (*Jīva*) and has a few specific characteristics of its own, which are touch,³ taste,⁴ smell⁵ and colour.⁶

¹. Stevenson, (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 101.

². Ibid, pp. 102-6.

³. It is of eight different types *Mṛidu*, *Kaṭhin*, *Guru*, *Laghu*, *Śīta*, *Uṣhṇa*, *Snigdha*, and *Rukṣha*; see *Tattvārtharājavārttika*, V. 23-7.

⁴. It is of five types *Tikta*, *Kaṣu*, *Āmla*, *Madhura* and *Kaṣhāya*.

⁵. It is of two types *Surabhi* and *Asurabhigandha*.

⁶. Five types, *Nila*, *Pīta*, *Śukla*, *Krishṇa* and *Lohita*; see *Tattvārtharājavārttika*, V. 23, 8-10.

As pointed out above consciousness is the best type of distinguishing feature between *jiva* and *Ajiva*. *Jiva* has consciousness whereas *Ajiva* has not. To Radhakrishnan *Ajiva* is that category which has no consciousness though can be touched, tasted, seen, and smelt.¹ But these are the characteristics of *Pudgala* which is a subdivision of *Ajiva*. *Ajiva* is something more than merely matter; it has its formless divisions which could not be touched, tasted, seen and smelt. Mehta rejecting Radhakrishnan says that matter is *Ajiva*, of course, but this does not mean that *Ajiva* is matter and matter alone² from the dualistic view point, the substance which is conscious is *Jiva* and that which is unconscious is *Ajiva*.³

Scientifically speaking nowadays three conditions of matter are generally accepted, i. e., (1) the solid condition, (2) the liquid condition, and (3) the gaseous condition.⁴ But the exponents of the Jaina faith believed in the existence of six such conditions, i. e., (1) Gross Gross (*Sthūla Sthūla*) matter, or matter like iron-pillar, a block of stone or the materials which if broken once could not be united again. (2) Gross or liquid (*Sthūla*) is seen in oil, water, milk or the materials which may be united by themselves even if they are broken. (3) Gross fine (*Sthūla Sūkṣhma*) is represented in shade, sunshine or the matter which though tangible yet cannot be grasped. (4) Fine gross (*Sūkṣhma sthūla*) could be found in sound, taste and smell or in matters which are perceived only through the sense of touch, taste, smell or in matters which are perceived only through the sense of touch, taste, smell and hearing. (5) Fine (*Sūkṣhma*) are the matters which could not be sensually perceived, i. e., Karmic matters. (6) Fine fine (*Sūkṣhma sūkṣhma*) are the finest matters in the Karmic

1. Radhakrishnan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 314.

2. Mehta, M. L., *Outlines of Jaina Philosophy*, p. 27.

3. Ibid.

4. Jaini, J. L., *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 22.

body and are due to a combination of two or more ultimate atoms.¹

The matter consists of *Samkheya* (numerable) and *asamkheya* (innumerable) and *ananta pradeśas* or parts. The above statement though appears contradictory is not so.

The elements of which this universe is composed of, according to the *Vaiśeṣika* system of philosophy, are earth, water, fire, air, ether, time, space, soul and mind.

Elements of the same nature as conceived in the Jaina system of thought, as included under *pudgala*, are namely, earth, water, fire, and air. The *Vaiśeṣika* air is without colour, taste and smell though modern studies in Physics have proved to its contrary. Likewise their concept of fire is as well devoid of taste and smell whereas modern science has proved it to be a material substance. The *Vaiśeṣika* thinkers hold that smell is a characteristic only of earth which cannot be taken as the last statement, even though the smell of other elements be unknown through the media of human nose.²

The Jainas in this position are 'sound and scientific'. For they failed to recognise these four elements as separate entities and counted them all as forms of matter. These elements of Jainas are combinations of the forms of matter.³

Forms of Matter

Matter has two forms, those indivisible or *ayus* (atoms) and their combinations or *skandhas* (molecules).

That particle of matter, which cannot be further divided is *ayu* (atom)⁴, and is the last and smallest unit of matter.

1. Jaini, J. L., *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 21; Nahar and Ghosh, *An Epitome of Jainism*, pp. 28f; Mehta, M. L., *Outlines of Jaina Philosophy*, pp. 77 ff.

2. Mehta, M.L., *O. J. P.*, p. 69.

3. Ibid.

4. *Sarvārthasiddhi*, V. 25.

nothing smaller than this is known.¹ *Aṇu* has a single taste, single colour, single smell and two types of touch, which are the cause of the sound, though they themselves are dumb.² The atoms though real, are perceived inferentially. It is neither hard nor soft, neither light nor heavy. These are the qualities of the *Skandhas* and not of the *aṇus*.³ The atoms are generated by a division of the matter⁴ and not otherwise.

Skandha

The *skandha* is an aggregate or conglomeration of atoms. A *Skandha* comes to exist by dissociation (*bheda*), association (*saṃghāta*), and through an united process of dissociation and association.

No doubt that the atoms are invisible but certain type of *skandhas* even are not visible. Says Pūjyapāda, "Out of *skandhas* composed even of an infinite number of elementary particles (*aṇus*) some are visible and some invisible".⁵ But the invisible *skandha* becomes perceptible when combined by a division of others.

Dharma, *Adharma*, *Ākāśa*, and *Kāla* are the other four types of *Ajiva*. *Dharma* is that imponderable substance which causes the bodies to move, whereas the similar substance *Adharma* enables the bodies to be at rest. *Ākāśa* contains everything that is existing. The substance of *Kāla* is that in which the things undergo a series of changes.⁶

The Jaina Concept of Cosmology

As regards the Jaina concept of cosmos, we have a rather casual epigraphic mention in a record of 600 A. D. from

1. *Tattvārtharājavārttika*, V, 11. 2.

2. *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, 88.

3. M-nta, M. L., O. J. P., p. 72.

4. *Tattvārthasūtra*, V, 27.

5. *Sarvārthasiddhi*, V, 28.

6. Nahar and Ghosh, *An Epitome of Jainism*, p. 30.

Sravanabelagola.¹ The record mentioning the perfection and honour obtained by Lord Mahavira says, that "the singular power of whose knowledge pervades the things, moveable and immovable having their support in both the universe and the non-universe."²

The Jaina concept of cosmos has three divisions in main, i.e., the universe (*loka*), the mid-universe (*madhyaloka*) and the non-universe or *aloka*. All these divisions have a definite form but that which is the last in order.

Akalanka derived the word *loka* from the place in which happiness and misery are seen³ as the consequences of vice and virtue or the *loka* is the place which is perceived by the omniscient.⁴ *Ākāśa* is similar to *loka* and is termed as *lokākāśa*, and the sky beyond this is termed *alokākāśa*.⁵

The first of these, the upper region is the dwelling place of the celestial beings, the mid-sphere is the region of men and other living beings, whereas the lower-sphere or *adholoka* is the residence of the inmates of hell. All these regions are situated upon one another.

Further all these *lokas* are surrounded by three different layers of air; one upon the other, which in respect are humid (*Ghunodadhivātavalaya*), dense (*Ghanavātavalaya*), and rarified (*Tanuvātavalaya*). Within this envelop of the air exists

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1. Narsimhachar, *Ep. Car.*, Vol. II, No. 1; *J.S.S.*, Vol. I, No. 1.
 2. *Lokāloka Śaktiḥ svāvyaśnute yasya kevalā*, *J.S.S.*, Vol. I, No. 1; *Ep. Car.*, Vol. II, No. 1.
 3. *Yatra puṇyapūṣhalokanam sa lokah*, *Tattvāttharūjavār-ttikam*, 5. 12. 10.
 4. *Lokyata iti vā lokah*, *Ibid.*, 5. 12. 13.
 5. Ghoshal, S.C., *Dravyasaṃgraha*, S.B.J., Vol. I, p. 58.

the *lokākāśa*, the place where *dharma*, *adharma*, *kāla*, *pudgala* and *Jīva* are said to exist.¹

Beyond this is *alokākāśa*, the region of the eternal, infinite, without shape and activity and visible only to the omniscient²; in this only the *ākāśa* substance is found.

The *lokākāśa* is seven *Rajjus* in height towards north to south, and seven *Rajjus* in height in the direction towards east to west; it has a width of one *Rajju* with a length of 14 *Rajjus*.³ The erect figure of the Jaina cosmos at the lower level is seven *Rajjus* in breadth which becomes one *Rajju* at a height of seven *Rajjus* likewise at the height of 10 *Rajjus* it is 5 *Rajjus* in breadth and at the top of 14 *Rajjus* it is again one *Rajju* in breadth.⁴

As we have pointed out above, the gods and perfected souls of the Jains inhabit the upper universe, men and other living creatures live in the mid-universe with the exception of the *Bhavanātri* type of gods.⁵ The lower universe is occupied by the inmates of hell, but the creatures of single

1. *Dhamādhamma kālo puggala jīvā ya santi jīvadiye /*
Āyāse so logo tatho pārado alogutto / S. B. J., I, Vs. 20;
 cf. *Dharmādharma yutaḥ kālapudgalāḥ jīva pūrvakāḥ /*
Khe yāvatyatratīṣṭhaṅti lokākāśaḥ sa uchyate //
Pudgalādi padārthānām avagāhaikalakṣaṇaḥ /
Vardhamāna Purāṇa, XVI, 32.
Lokākāśaḥ smṛito vyāpi Śuddhākāśo bahistataḥ //
Dharmaśarmābhyudaya, XXI, 86.
 cf. also *Pañcāstikāyasamayāsāra*, verse 91.

2. *Tasmāda bahiranaṅto syadākāśo dravyavarjitaḥ /*
Nirtyo amūrtto kriyāhinaḥ sarvajñadrīṣṭigocharaḥ //
Vardhamāna Purāṇa, XVI, 33.

3. Jaini, J. L., *Outlines of Jainism*, p.

4. *Tattvārthasūtra* by Pt. Phulchandra Siddhanta Shastri, pp. 134-40.

5. *Tattvārthasūtra* by Phulchandra Siddhanta Shastri, p. 140.

sense organ are an exception to this rule and are said to inhabit all these spheres.¹

The lower portion of the universe contains seven earth layers one upon the other and they are situated at a distance of unimaginable *yojanas* from one another. Of these hell-earths, *Ratnaṣṭra* (18,00,00 *yojanas* in breadth) is the first, and is divided into three parts,² the last of which contains the hell-inhabitants. Further this sphere has got 30,000 hell abodes (*Narakāvāsas*). *Śarkarāṣṭra*, the second layer of lower universe is 32,000 *yojanas* in breadth and the third *Vālukāṣṭra* is 28,000 *yojanas*, the fourth *Paṇḍitaṣṭra* 24,000 *yojanas*, the fifth *Dhūmaṣṭra* 20,000, the sixth *Tamaṣṭra* 16,000 and the lower most layer of the universe the seventh *Mahātamaṣṭra* is 8,000 *yojanas* in breadth. 250,000 hell-abodes are therein *Śarkarāṣṭra*, 150,000 in *Vālukāṣṭra*, 10,000 in *Paṇḍitaṣṭra*, 300,000 in *Dhūmaṣṭra* and 99995 in *Tamaṣṭra* and 5 in *Mahātamaṣṭra*.³

The lower and unjust beings are ruled by the higher and perfected ones. The creatures of the hells have to suffer great miseries but the end of their miseries is not impossible.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid, p. 143. These parts are known as *Kṣarabhāga*, *Paṇḍitaṣṭra*, and *Abhayaṣṭra*.

3. *Tattvārthsūtra* by Pt. Pūlchandra Siddhanta Śastry, p. 143.

CHAPTER VI

THE JAINA RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

To most of our religions this life is full of miseries and sorrow. They are due to the fact of taking birth again and again. Therefore, according to most of our religious systems the end of the worldly trouble consists in getting rid of the cycle of birth and death. This could only be done by following the code and the modes of religious practices of a particular religion. Every religion has its own system of worship, following which individuals are assured to attain salvation.

First of all we propose to consider the *stūpa* worship among the Jainas. It is generally believed that the system of *stūpa* worship grew up with the rise and expansion of Buddhism. But this system of worship appears to have been prevalent among almost all ancient Indian religious systems. Although the *stūpa* form of worship was popularised by king Asoka, whose faith in Lord Buddha¹ inspired him to honour the great leader, by erecting, as many as 80,000 *stūpas*, over his relics traditionally, the system of worship does not appear to have been confined to Buddhism alone. It was common to many religious systems of the land.² But it seems more likely that the *stūpas* originated and developed out "of the earthen funeral mounds (*Śmaśānas*), under which, according to the Vedic rituals, the ashes of the dead were buried."³ The *Chaityas* are mentioned as early as the *Grihya Sūtra* and the epic period.⁴ In *Mahābhārata* (I, 109, 13-14) it has been clearly pointed out.

1. Havell, E. B., *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, p. 46.

2. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 311.

3. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 488.

4. "Mention is also made of offerings to monument Chaityas erected to the memory of the teachers", See Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 255-56.

Bhīṣmēṇa dharmato rājansarvataḥ parirakṣhate /
Vabhūva ramaṇiyāścha chaitya yūpa śatāṅkataḥ //

By the time of the epics the *stūpa* worship had grown fairly popular in the country.

Later on the *stūpa* worship was adopted by the Jains who developed it in accordance with their religious needs and ideas and continued it for a considerable time. But none of the religious sects could surpass the Buddhists who were the greatest exponents of this system of worship. Hence, commonly *stūpa* stands for a Buddhist *stūpa*.

"The oldest *stūpas*" in ancient India, were not symbols of a religious cult, but memorials of the dead associated with the practice of burial instead of cremation."¹ Another such observation shows that these "*stūpas* were, originally great mounds of earth raised over the ashes of a chief or religious leader, and surrounded by wooden rails to protect them."² But it seems that in the long course of time the *stūpa* came to be 'built in brick or stone with an earthen core'³ and stone rails, and got associated with the ritualistic practices of the particular religion they belonged to. This could be supported from an evidence of the tradition recorded in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (14th century A. D.) wherein a Jaina *stūpa* of gold studded with gems built by Kuvera is mentioned. It is further said in this connection that later when people grew greedy, Kuverā, the female consort of Kuvera, covered that *stūpa* with mud and brick.⁴ This is perhaps a simple explanation of the stone-brick nature of the structure as popular in the medieval period. But it may have developed considerably earlier.

1. Havell, *Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, pp. 46-7.

2. Cousens, H., *Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, p.8.

3. Ibid.

4. *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (S. J. G.), pp. 17-18.

The Stūpa Worship Among the Jainas

The practice of *stūpa* erection, according to the Jaina traditions of *Kalpasūtra* is as old as the creation of this world. During the time of the first Tirthamkara Rishabha or Uṣhabha the practice of *Thūbha* (= *Stūpa*) erection, the cremation of the dead and the institutions of marriage etc. were for the first time introduced.¹ The prevalence of this form of worship among the Jainas at an early date was shown by Fuhrer.² Further Buhler as told by Prof. Leumann, shows that the Jaina *Āgamas* also contain references with regard to the *thūbhas* (*stūpas*). He mentions that in *Rāyapa-seṇijjaupōṅga*, *stūpas* surrounded by four Jinas are referred as to have adorned the *Uvagāriyaleṇa* of the god Sūriyābha.³ Another mention of the *stūpa* worship is seen in the *Chaitya-vandana*, the performance of which was compulsory for all the *Śrāvakas*. The word *Chaitya* according to Buhler denoted 'a funeral monument in honour of a teacher or prophet.'⁴ The *Chaityas* which are mentioned in the *Aupapālika Sūtra* of the Jainas, were surmounted by one or several *Chhatras*.

The Hāthīgumphā inscription is said to contain a reference to the *Yāpa* professors as performing religious activities on the Kumārī Hill in the vicinity of the *Nisīdiyā* of the *Arhamta*. Some scholars have taken it to denote an early instance of the existence of the Jaina *Stūpa*.⁵ If so, this could be taken as an instance in support of the existence of the relic worship

¹. Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, pp. -06-8; *Jambuddivapaṃatti*, Commentary by Santi Chandra, (Bombay 1920), 2. 18-40.

². I. A., Vol. VI, p. 218.

³. Buhler, *V.O.J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-31.

⁴. Ibid.

⁵. Shah, C. J., *Jainism in North India*, p. 251; K. P. Jayaswal says that the Jainas were accustomed to call "their *stūpas* or *Chaityas* *nisīdis*," *J. B. O R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 389.

among the Jains since the *stūpas* were erected over the relics of 'a chief or religious 'leader.'¹ Hence the Hathīgumphā cave inscription inspires one to deduce the existence of such a Jaina *stūpa*. I am inclined to suggest that this *stūpa* existed there possibly even before Khāravela. Jainism was introduced quite early in Kalinga as a Nanda King is said to have brought back home the image of a Jaina Tīrthankara, as a booty of war from Kalinga.

Another epigraphic mention of the Jaina *stūpa* is found in an inscription from Mathura. This is dated in the 79th year of the Indo-Scythic kings and mentions the installation of an image of the (18th) Tīrthamkara Naṇḍiyāvartta on the Vodvā *stūpa* which is called an erection divine.²

The epigraphic statement concerning the erection and the erector of this *stūpa* shows that they were completely forgotten by the time of the dedication of that image of Naṇḍiyāvartta, and the people were mystifying a forgotten fact into the golden threads of mythology. This presumption coincides well with the corresponding statement of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* referred to above. According to the tradition of this work Kuvera with his wife erected a *stūpa* at Mathura, which contained an image of Supārśvanātha,³ the 7th Tīrthamkara of the Jains.

A mutual corroboration of the epigraphic and traditional facts could well be employed to prove a hoary antiquity for the beginning of this form of worship in the Jaina Saṃgha probably not long after Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthamkara.⁴ This system of worship seems to have been greatly

¹. Cousens, H., *Architectural Antiquities of Western India*. p.8.

². ...*pratimā Vodve thupe devanirmite*...., Buhler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, No. 20.

³. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, (S. J. G.), p. 17.

⁴. Jayaswal takes the epigraphic evidence of Hathīgumphā cave epigraph to prove the existence of Jaina images at about or rather prior to B. C. 450, *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XIII, pp. 245-46.

in vogue during the early centuries of the Christian era which has been acknowledged on the basis of the *stūpa* ruins brought to light by the excavations held at Mathura.

In the light of these considerations, the assumption that the Jainas imitated this form of worship from the Buddhists does not seem plausible.¹ The existence of the *Chaitya* worship as pointed out above, in some form was prevalent in all probability before both Mahāvira and Buddha. It has also been referred to by Pāṇini in connection with the Pārāśarya order of the ascetics.² These are some of the evidences in favour of the hoary antiquity of this practice among the Brāhmanical ascetics, which seems to have been the main source of both these sects, from where they borrowed it.

Stūpa worship among the Jainas seems to have continued for quite a long time. In an indirect way it still survives. An epigraph of Yuvarāja Devavarmā, a son of the illustrious Kadamba king Śrī Krishṇavarmā (475-85 A. D.), records the donation of a piece of land for the repair of the *Chaityālaya* of the Lord *Arhata*.³ Though the inscription under review here does not contain any date, it seems probable that this record was engraved either towards the end of the 5th century or in the early years of the 6th century A. D. Another such record of the king Śrī Mṛigeśvarvarmā, of the major Kadamba line of Banavāsī as well contains an allusion to this system of worship.⁴ This record could be dated somewhere in between 475-490 A. D.

1. Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-31.

2. Ibid.

3. *Dharma mahārājasya Śrī Kṛṣṇavarmmaṇaḥ priyatanayo Devavarmayuvārājaḥ Svapunyaḥ phalābhikāṅkṣhayā trilokabhūtaḥ ita deśinaḥ dharmapravaritanasya arhataḥ bhagavataḥ Chaityālayasya bhagnasamskāraṁ mamahimāritam ...*
Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol VII, No. 35, pp. 33-35.

4. Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. 36, pp. 35-37.

The practice of *stūpa* erection and worship is so deeply rooted in the Indian mind that it has continued even to this age of Science.¹ Even today, in our country, *Samādhis* etc. are erected over the relics of ascetics and saints, which is a common practice among almost all layers of our traditionally religious society. Perhaps this Indian temperament is betrayed also by the erection of a similar structure at Rajghat, Delhi, for Mahatma Gandhi.

Temple and Idol Worship

The system of idol worship of the Tīrthaṃkaras and other perfected beings marks another chief characteristic of the Jaina religious practices. Temple building is known to have been considered by the Jainas a source for obtaining salvation. For them their temples were in reality 'prayers in stone'.² Traditionally speaking the practise of the erection of Jaina temples could be ascribed to an early date. The first of such buildings was erected on the peaks of the mountain Aṭha-vāya or Kailāśa, in honour of the first Tīrthaṃkara Rīṣhabha, by his son Bharata.³

An instance of the Hathigumpha cave epigraph of king Kharavela proves the existence of an image of a Jaina perfected being, and thereby presupposes the prevalence of the temples. Line 12th of this record bears a reference to the conquest of Magadha by king Kharavela, who brought back home possibly a famous image of the 'Jina of Kalinga', which was carried away by Nandarāja as a 'mark of trophy' won in war against Kalinga.⁴ The literary and the epigraphic facts could well be reconciled together by assuming that this

¹. Buhler, *V.O.J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-31.

². Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 26.

³. Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, S. B. E., Vol. XXII, pp. 206-28.

⁴. *Māgadhaṃ cha rājānam Bahasatimitam pāde vamdāpayati Nandarāja nītam cha Kalinga jinam Samnivesa.....*, Jayswal and Bannerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 72ff; cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 29.

type of religious practice, perhaps came in vogue somewhere in the age of the last Tirthamkara Mahāvīra or a little later among the Jainas.¹

The Mathura inscriptions as well contain dedications and installations of the images of the Tirthamkaras,² as well as other deities³ of the Jaina and Hindu pantheon. This fact regarding the wide extent of this form of worship among the Jainas is furthermore corroborated by the discoveries of the architectural remains from Mathura. The inscriptions from Mathura speak about the installations of the *Savvatobhudrikā*⁴ (or four fold) images for the welfare of all living creatures. These image were those of the Jaina Tirthamkaras, and since they presented four distinct Tirthamkara images on all the four sides, they came to be known accordingly. Certain images of this type have been recovered from the Mathura excavations and are kept there in the museum.⁵

The idol worship among the Jainas contained even the worship of the cognizances of the Tirthamkaras represented in stone. Though meagre yet we have epigraphic corroboration of this fact. The only epigraphic mention of the erection of a great Naṃdī by Śrēṣṭhī Rudradāsa son of Śrēṣṭhī Śivadāsa⁶ clarifies it. The Naṃdī of the said instance seems to have

1. Image worship was prevalent among the Jainas as early as the beginning of the 5th century B. C., Shah, *J. N. I.*, p. 179.
2. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 14, 16, 20, 21, 27; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Nos. 23, 29, 33, 34, 36, 39; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 21, p. 107; *J. R. A. S.*, (1896), pp. 578-81.
3. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 21; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 55.
4. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, Nos. 13, 16, 37; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 22, 27, 41.
5. *Guide to Mathura Museum*, (in Hindi), M. M. Nagar, p.18.
6. *Namdī viśāla pratiṣṭhāpito śivadāsa śrēṣṭhī putreṇa śrēṣṭhinā āryeṇa Rudradāseṇa arhamatam pūjāye*, *Arch. Sur. Rept.*, Vol. III, No. 9, pp. 32-33; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 43, p.34.

been a variant of the Vṛṣhabha, the cognizance of Uṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. Another evidence in support of this could be derived from an inscription¹ which mentions the setting up of a stone slab in honour of the presiding Nāga deity. The association of a serpent with Jainism is as old as the age of the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanatha which is his cognizance.² This shows that the Jainas were serpent worshippers also. And they worshipped the Nāga perhaps independently as well as the cognizance of Pārśvanātha.

It is evident that the Jainas not only employed a great variety of the Hindu deities allotting them a secondary status, as compared to their own Tīrthaṅkaras, but they even worshipped them. It has been corroborated by the epigraphic records. The records from Mathura furnish evidence of the dedications and installations of the images of Saraswatī,³ and Nemeṣa⁴ (Skt. Naigmeṣha), a swift footed messenger of the gods and a general of Indra. Hence the worship of the Brahmanic deities among the Jainas was not uncommon. But such Brahmanical deities had already become an important part of the Jaina pantheon.

Now we propose to deal with the *Āyāgapapaṭas*,⁵ found from Mathura, which were an important part of the then image and temple worship among the Jainas. We have

1. *Bhagawatō nāgeṇdrasya dadhikarṇasya stāne śilāpaṭṭo pratiṣṭhāpito Mathurānam...*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 18.
2. See Chapter II, p. 8.
3. *sarvasattvānam hitasukhā ekāsaraswatī praviṣṭhāvitā...* Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 21; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 55 pp. 40-41.
4. *Bhagwānemeso*, Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. 6; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 13, p. 16.
5. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. XXXIII & XXXV; *Ibid*, Vol. II, Nos. V, VIII, XX, XXXII; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos 9, 15, 16, 71, 73, 81.

several instances of the installations of such slabs in the inscriptions from Mathura. "An Āyāgapāṭa," according to Buhler, "is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or some other object of worship, and the terms may be appropriately rendered by tablet of homage or of worship, since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, for the worship of the Arhats... Among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to be dated."¹

The *Āyāgapāṭas* present a lively architectural representation of divinities and objects held in esteem by Jainas. A Prakrit epigraph from Mathura dated in the 1st century B. C. records the creation of an *Āyāgapāṭa* by Vasu, a daughter of the courtesan Lavaṇaśobhikā at the sanctuary of the Nirgrantha Arhats.² This *Āyāgapāṭa* is carved out with a *stūpa* surrounded by a railing and to be approached by a flight of steps and a *torāṇa* (gateway) which seems to be an exact copy of the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathura, in the same way in which the stone slabs, from the seats of Buddhist culture and learning, like Amravati, Nagarjunikonda etc., present copies of the Buddhist Stūpas built on those places.³ "The stūpa is flanked by two pillars of Persipolitan style, the one to the proper right carrying a wheel and the other a sitting lion. On each side of the stūpa are there worshipping figures. The two flying figures above possibly represent munis who were supposed to have the power of transporting themselves through the air."⁴ The figures are shown naked and in a saluting posture. The next pair of figures is identified with *Suparṇas*.⁵

¹. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 314.

². Luders, *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 152 ff.; Buhler, *I. S. J.*, pp. 41-2; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 8, pp. 5.

³. Nagar, M. L., *Guide to Mathura Museum*, p. 17.

⁴. Agrawala, V. S., *M. M. C.*, Pt. III, pp. 35 ff.

⁵. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

half bird and half man—with the tails and claws of a bird while the upper portion is that of a human body. The two other female figures prostrating on the either sides of the drum of the *stūpa* seem to be nymphs or *Yakṣīs*.¹

Another such piece, though mutilated, presents a similar representation whose upper portion is destroyed. Below the railing runs the inscription showing its creation by Śivayaśā wife of Phalguyaśasa.² This piece as well gives the view of a certain Jaina *stūpa* surrounded by a railing. It was to be reached through a "decorated Torana gateway, to which four steps ascend." On either sides of the *stūpa* "a dancing girl completely nude except for a sash of the usual jewellery round the hips stands in an immodest attitude".³ But these female figures have been taken for *Yakṣīs*, *Devatas*, or *Vrkṣakas*, nymphs and dryads by A. K. Coomarswamy.⁴

We now come to the conclusion that these *Āyāgaṇas* sometimes contained the carved images of the Arhats, and at others that of the *stūpa*-figures, but in most cases, they contained the wheel of law, the various Lāñchhanas of the Jaina Tirthankaras, *yakṣīs*, saints etc. In short the *Āyāgaṇas* show the pantheon of the Jainas carved on stone through the chisel of the artist.

We have a few epigraphic references regarding the dedications of the *Toraṇas*⁵ of the temples. The *Toraṇas* as well were meant for the veneration of human and mythic

¹. Agrawala, V. S., *M. M. C.*, Pt. III, p. 35.

². Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. V, p. 200; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 15, pp. 17-18.

³. Smith, V. A., *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 19.

⁴. Coomarswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 64.

⁵. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 17; *Ibid*, Vol. II, No. 1; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 4 & 14, pp. 11-12, 17.

personages. The artists of these architectural pieces wanted to show the eagerness of the "gods and men to pay homage to the Tirthankaras, to their stūpas and temples."¹

Idolatry among the Jainas of South

Inscriptions from South, record land grants in favour of one or the other Jinālaya, as against Jaina epigraphs from North which mention mostly dedications and installations of the images of various types.

The Digambaras received various land gifts, conferred upon their temples or Jinālayas as known from certain epigraphs,² that presuppose the practice of idol worship in their community. Besides, certain land gifts are even made in favour of the gods³, which also is a strong evidence in favour of this practice, but whose affiliation to one or the other Jaina sect is a matter of inference. All these gods of the Jainas were probably the presiding deities of their temples.

The Śvetāmbara (*Śvetapaṭasamāṇa saṃgha*) Jainas are but once referred to in an inscription together with the Digambaras (*Nirgranthasramāṇa saṃgha*)⁴, and this confirms the proposed minority of the Śvetāmbaras in South. Although it is not clearly specified in the above mentioned inscription whether they had any temples or images or not yet presumably they had both as this was the most common practice in those days.

¹ Shah, C. J., *Jainism in North India*, p. 258.

² *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Malur tl. Nos. 72, 73; Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol. VI. pp. 24-5; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 90, 94, 95, 99.

³ Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. XXXVI, pp. 36-37; XXXVII, pp. 37-38; *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 27-29, No. XXIV, pp. 29-30; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 97, 98, 101, 102.

⁴ Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. XXXVII, pp. 37-8; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 98, pp. 69-72.

The sect of the Yāpanīya¹ Jains also had a great influence over the country and people of South. An inscription from Devagiri mentions a dedication by Devavarma, son of Dharmamahārāja Śrī Kṛṣṇavarma, for repairs, worship etc. of the *Chaityālaya* (temple) of Lord Arhata.² The Kūrchakas³ were another sect of the Jains. This sect, too, does not seem to have ruled out this practice.

Hence it becomes clear that the idol and temple worship prevailed in the Jain community from the early days of its history. The main distinction between the images of the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras was that the icons of the former were kept naked whereas those of the latter were clad in (white) clothes hanging from the waist.

As the inscriptions do not contain anything regarding the person to whom the act of performing the worship was allotted nothing conclusively can be said about it. According to Mrs. Stevenson⁴ the officiant in the Digambara temples was to be a Jain himself. But among the Śvetāmbaras there was no such hard and fast rule, since their worships were performed even by a non-Jain, provided a Jain officiant was not present. Mrs. Stevenson further asserts that it was even performed by Brāhmaṇas, gardeners or farmers who were all paid for the same.⁵ But we have no evidence whatsoever to corroborate or contradict the prevalence of this practice

¹ Ibid, Vol. VI, pp. 24-5, No. XXII, pp. 25-27; Ibid, Vol. VII, No. XXXV, pp. 33-35; J. S. S., Vol. II, Nos. 99, 100, 105, pp. 72-4, 74-6, 83-5.

² I. A., Vol. VII, No. XXXV, pp. 33-5; J. S. S., Vol. II, No. 105, pp. 83-85.

³ I. A., Vol. VI, No. XXI, pp. 24-25, 30-31; J. S. S., Vol. II, Nos. 99, 103, pp. 72-4, 80-81.

⁴ Stevenson, (Mrs.), *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 250.

⁵ Ibid; According to S. Chattopadhyay even today "in Rajasthan, Maga or Śāka-Brahmaṇas" are "employed as priests in Jain temples," *The Sakas in India*, p. 99.

in the Śvetāmbara community from the inscriptions. An inscription from Mathura records the gift of a *Kulaka* (*Pujāri* or *Māli*) to the temple of Dadhikaraṇa.¹ But the ambiguous character of the inscription leads us nowhere. The inscriptions from South, however, prove the existence of the *Bhojakas* or the *Pujāris* who must have performed the worship, but nothing could be said with certainty regarding the social order they belonged to but perhaps they were Jainas.

Samādhis and Fasts

Though the Jaina observances of *sallekhaṇā* etc. have been very much characterised and ascribed to an important place in the system of their religious practices and observances, we have only scarce references to these in the epigraphs. We may in this connection refer to an epigraph from Śravana belgola which mentions a certain Bhadrabāhu, identified with the person of the same name associated with the great Chandragupta Maurya. This Bhadrabāhu is reported to have died through observing *sallekhaṇā*. The same record mentions the *samādhi* of one Prabhāchandra, followed later by some seven hundred monks.² This was the traditional Jaina way of getting *Nirvāṇa*, which was practised by the Jaina monks of all schools since the very beginning of their history.

In the whole range of the Mathura epigraphs there is no mention of customs like *sallekhaṇā* which ultimately resulted in the separation of the soul from the body. But an inscription records the observance of a fast by one Vijayaśrī, lasting for a whole month. The record is dated in the 50th year of king Huvishka.³ But it is difficult to term this fast as *sallekhaṇā*. The meagre mention of the observances like *sallekhaṇā* etc. should in no way be taken to indicate the

1. H. C. Raichaudhuri in his *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect* (p. 163) has considered it as a Vaiṣṇava record, there is no reason, however, to favour this view; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 13, pp. 102-3; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II. 49, p. 37.
2. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. II, Nos. III; *J. S. S.*, Vol. I, No. I. pp. 1-2.
3. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XXXVI; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 52, p. 38.

non-observance of these religious customs and practices by the Jaina monks of North.

Religious Functions

An epigraph of the Kadamba king Ravivarma mentions the donation of a village Purukhetaka, by him and his predecessors, for the performance of a worship known as *Aṣṭāhnikā*, to the Jaina monks of the Yāpanīya order.¹ Another description of this celebration could be gathered from the epigraph of the Kadamba king Harivarma who granted the village of Vasuṇṭavātaka in favour of the Vāriṣeṇāchārya saṃgha of the Kūrchaka Jainas, whose head was Chandrakṣhānta for the performance of *Aṣṭāhnikā* and the feeding up of the whole *Samgha*.² This confirms the popularity of the celebration of *Aṣṭāhnikā* among the Jainas at least of the South. But since it is mentioned only in case of the Yāpanīyas and the Kūrchakas it could be possibly held that they had given a special preference to this practice, as compared to other sects of the Jaina persuasion. *Aṣṭāhnikā* is referred to in the *Uttarapurāṇa*.³

Every age has its own superstitions, and the same is true about all the religions. The Jainas of Mathura seem to have believed in a superstition that an image or so if donated in association with relatives etc. may fetch some high spiritual benefits⁴ for all. This becomes evident from the large number of the relatives of the donor mentioned in a great majority of the Mathura epigraphs. Hence one may dare to speculate the prevalence of such a practice and practice.

¹. Fleet, *I. A.* Vol. VI, No. XXII, pp. 25-7; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 100, pp. 74-6.

². Ibid, Vol. VI, pp. 30-31; *J. S. S.* Vol, II, No. 103, pp. 80-81.

³. *Śāstrotkavādinā bhaktyā pūjāmāṣṭāhnikīmvyadhāt / chaturmukhaṃ rathāvartam sarvatobhadra munjitaṃ ||58. Uttarapurāṇa*, ch. 73, p. 433.

⁴. *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, p. 17.

CHAPTER VII

IMPORTANT CENTRES OF JAINISM

We do not have any epigraphic reference concerning the birth place of Jainism and its earliest strongholds. We propose to discuss here those centres of this faith, from where we have found some epigraphic record, and the traditional history of this faith as known from Jaina canonical works if any.

Jainism in North

The earliest mention of the Nigganthas or the Jainas is furnished by the VII P. E.¹ of king Asoka from the Delhi-Topara region. The find place of this inscription points towards the fact that the Jainas were numerous in that region in those days. But at the same time it denotes that Jainism held an important place in the then India, and was much respected and honoured. The mention of the Nigganthas in VII P. E. and Śramaṇas in XI R. E.² and other inscriptions were taken to show that Asoka was a Jaina by faith in the early years of his reign.³ Shah further asserts that whenever Asoka spoke anything concerning the faith of Lord Buddha he used the term *Samgha*, for the fulfilment of his purpose.⁴ In the VIIth P. E. the Śramaṇas are not referred to

1. Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, No. 30, pp. 65ff; J.S.S. Vol. II, No. 1.

2. Ibid, S. I., No. 16, pp. 32f.

3. Shah, C. J., *J. N. I.* p. 142, "The Jainas used this term (Śramaṇas) prior to the Buddhists is also conclusively proved by the fact that the latter styled themselves as Śākyaputtiya samaṇas as distinguished from the Niggantha Samaṇas."

4. Ibid.

perhaps due to the mention of the Nigganthas and Ājivikas¹ according to Shah.² But nobody now takes these views seriously for the factuality of Asoka's being a Buddhist laity is now generally accepted. Asoka's attachment with Buddhism is clear from his Bairat³ and Sarnath inscriptions. The mention of the Jainas in the inscriptions of Asoka suggests a near north India nature of the faith.

Pabhosa

By the 2nd or 1st century B. C. Pabhosa in the vicinity of the modern city of Allahabad came to be another important seat of the Jaina faith. The veracity of this statement could be confirmed from the two Pabhosa inscriptions of king Āṣṭhaḍhasena,⁴ which furnish evidence with regard to the excavation of cave-dwellings for the Kaṣyapīya Arhataś (the Jainas).

The most important thing in these inscriptions is the geneology of the kings (see appendix C) of Adhichhatra (northern Pāṇchāla) which is identified with modern Ramnagar in Bareilly District.

Kauśāmbī has been included in one of the many sacred places of the Jainas by Jinaprabhasuri (14th cent after Vikrama) the author of *Vividhaṭīrikakalpa*. According to the traditions recorded in this work, the city of Kausambi was situated in the kingdom of Vatsa, where Chandra (the moon) and

1. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 66; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 136.

2. The Ājivikas are considered as a sect of the Jainas in the sectarian literature, and by some modern scholars. But later they seem to have developed independently of the Jainas.

3. Bhandarkar, D. R., *Asoka*, pp. 69 ff; Sircar, *S. I.*, No. 37, pp. 77f.

4. Fuhrer, A., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 242-43; Sircar, *S. I.*, No. 10, p. 97.

Sūrya (the sun) ascended with a view to salute Vardhamāna.¹ Kauśāmbī according to Jinaprabhasuri was a Mahātīrtha² of the Jains.

Mathura

After Pabhosa in the vicinity of Kauśāmbī, the next important stronghold of Jaina religion in the North was Mathura. A large number of dedicatory inscriptions have come to light from here. All these inscriptions are dated between the years 5(+78=83 A.D.) and 98(+78=176 A.D.) of the Indo-Scythic era.³ These inscriptions along with many other architectural and sculptural pieces go to prove the antiquity and importance of the Jaina order of monks in the region of Mathura. The contents of these inscriptions are in full corroboration with the traditions of *Kalpasūtra* and thus they go to prove the factuality of the Jaina traditions.

These inscriptions record the names of the Jaina gaṇas, kulas, śākhās and saṃbhogas,⁴ which are known to us even from the *Kalpasūtra*. They also furnish evidences with regard to the titles of the Vāchakas, the Vṛihaṃta Vāchakas and the Gaṇin, which were the official designations given to the teachers and the heads of the schools, and are commonly used even today. The records show that the Jains of Mathura, were mainly Śvetāmbaras,⁵ and their traditions are historically substantial.

Antiquity of the faith at Mathura

An epigraph mentions the dedication of an image of the 18th Tīrthaṃkara Naṇḍiyāvartta by Śrāvikā Dīnā (Dattā), at the request of Ārya Vṛddhahastin, which was installed at

¹. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, (S. J. G.), p. 23.

². *Ibid*, p. 23.

³. Buhler, *Indian Sect of the Jains*, p. 42.

⁴. For details see Ch. IV, pp. 36 ff.

⁵. Buhler, *I. S. J.*, p. 44.

the door of the *Vodvā stūpa* created by the Gods.¹ This shows that the people, at the time of the installation of the image had forgotten the fact regarding the erection of the *stūpa*.

A reference to this effect is found in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*. This work records the creation of a *Stūpa* of gold and gems with an image of Lord Supārśvanātha, the VIIth Tirthamkara. But later on the king of Mathura became greedy and wanted to take the gold and gems of the *Stūpa*. This enraged the gods and the king was killed instantaneously. Consequently Kuverā, the wife of Kuvera on the request of the Jaina Saṃgha of Mathura, covered the *Stūpa* with mud and brick.²

Both these traditions, the epigraphic and the literary seem to refer to the same *Stūpa* of Mathura, perhaps one of those excavated from here. Since the erection of the *Stūpa* was forgotten by the year 29(+78=157 A. D.) of the Indo-Scythic era, the *Stūpa* must have been erected long before the beginning of the Christian era. Hence the introduction of Jainism in Mathura region should be pressed at least as far back as the IIIrd or IIInd Century B. C.

Jaina Society of Mathura

The Jaina society of Mathura comprised mainly traders and merchants by profession,³ who were perhaps the Vaiśyas of the Hindu social order. The donors are mentioned by the particular titles they had which are indicative of their professional-status. They are variously termed as *Śreṣṭhins*,⁴

¹. *Vodve thupe Devanirmite.....*, Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 204, No. XX.

². *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, (S. J. G.), pp. 17ff.

³. Buhler observes that "a great number of Jainas, probably the greatest number, belonged as in our days to the mercantile classes," *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 319-20.

⁴. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. I, II; Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Repts.*, Vol. III, No. 9, pp. 32-33; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 19, 26, 43.

Sārthavāhas,¹ *Gandhikas*,² goldsmiths³ and iron : etc. in the epigraphs. Besides these, the classes like sailors⁴ (*Prātārika*), prostitutes⁵ and *Nartakas*⁷ are also mentioned. These references show that the Jainas observed the teachings of their preachers and held no distinction between man and man.

Apart from this, the epigraphs show that the Jainas had also a footing in the ruling Kṣatriya class, the class to which this faith owes its birth. This argument could be supported from the epigraph which mentions the dedication of a stone slab by Siṃhdatā (Dattā), wife of the Grāmika Jayanāga, who was the son's daughter of Grāmika Jayadeva.⁸ The grāmikas are related to the Indian ruling class in the ancient Hindu works.⁹ Another inscription records the gift of a certain Śivamitrā, wife of Gotiputra, who is said to have been a black cobra for the Śakas and the Poṭhayas.¹⁰ The inscription is assigned to 1st century

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1. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 29; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 33, p. 28.
 2. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 7; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. 16; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, Nos. 21, 23, pp. 107, 108-109; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 41, 42, 62, 69.
 3. *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 67.
 4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. 21, 60; *Ibid*, Vol. II, No. 18; *J. S. S.*, II, Nos. 31, 54, 55.
 5. *Ep. Ind.*, II, No. 39; *J. S. S.*, No. 92, p. 58.
 6. *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 152-153; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 8, p. 14.
 7. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, Nos. 5, 18; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 15, pp. 17-18.
 8. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. VII; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 42, pp. 33-34.
 9. *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 320-22.
 10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. XXXIII.

B. C.¹ Gotiputra being referred to as an enemy of the Śakas and the Poṭhayas may presumably be taken to have either been an independent Chief or a General. These evidences point out the importance of the Jaina sect and "support the Jaina legends regarding early conversions of kings and princes."²

The Mathura records contain but rare references with regard to the class of the Brahmanas. A certain Brahma Jāti³ is alluded to in an epigraph. In another inscription a gift made over by a *Kulaka*⁴ (*Pujāri* or gardener) is referred to, who is said to have proffered a gift to the temple of Dadhikaraṇa. These references may presumably be taken to denote that Brāhmaṇa *pujāris* were employed to perform the Jainistic rites, rituals and worship in their temples.

The Jaina Saṃgha of Mathura is termed as Chaturvidha or Chaturvarṇa⁵ saṃgha and points to the inclusion of monks and nuns and lay devotees-male and female. It is an important characteristic of the Mathura inscriptions to refer to women in the then Jaina order.

Popular Tirthamkaras at Mathura.

The following discussion on the Tirthamkaras is based on the scattered references about them in the Mathura inscriptions which offer salutations to them or record the installation of their images. The inscriptions begin in the tradi-

1. Buhler holds that this record should be dated "before the consolidation of the foreign rule at Mathura," *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 394.
2. Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-31.
3. Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Repts.*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 31; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 21, p. 20.
4. *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. XIII, pp. 102-103; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 49.
5. *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. XIX, p. 105.

tional Jaina way. Vardhamāna¹ was the most popular Tīrthamkara at Mathura. For he is mentioned many times as compared to Pārśva,² Śāntinātha,³ Saṃbhavanātha,⁴ Nandīyāvartha,⁵ Ariṣṭanemi⁶ and Rīṣabhadeva.⁷ The main cause of this importance, attached to Mahāvira as against other Tīrthamkaras, was perhaps due to the fact that his memory was still afresh in the minds of the people of Mathura. In this way it will be an additional point to confirm the historicity of Mahāvira-Vardhamāna.

It, therefore needs to be mentioned that Mathura since very early times became an important seat of Jaina activities. The Śvetāmbaras were in majority there, but the Digambaras were not totally absent, as Fuhrer is said to have discovered a Digambara *stūpa* from here.⁸

Kahāum

Kahāum is a village in the Gorakhpur district of U.P. An inscription dated in G. E. 141 (400 A. D.)⁹ refers to the

1. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Nos. VI, VII, XVI, XX, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIII; *Ibid.* Vol. II, Nos. II, VIII, XXIII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI; *I. A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. XXIII, pp. 108-109, 152-53; *J. R. A. S.*, (1896), pp. 578-581; *J. S. S.*, II, Nos. 5, 8, 9, 16, 30, 34, 36, 37, 42, 52, 67, 69, 75, 79, 84.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. 29; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 83.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 3; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 29, pp. 25-26.
4. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, No. 53, p. 151.
5. Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. 20; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 59.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, II, No. 14; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 28.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Nos. 8, 14; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 28; *J. S. S.*, II, Nos. 23, 56, 82.
8. Buhler, *V. O. J.*, Vol. IV, p. 169.
9. Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, No. 15, pp. 67f; *I. A.*, Vol. X, pp. 125-126; Sircar, No. 26, p. 308; Pandey, R. B., *G. J. I.*, pp. 169 ff.; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 93, p. 59; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1278.

Jaina settlement in the village named Kakubha (Kahāum). The record informs that a certain Madra, a Jaina by faith established this pillar with five naked images of the *Ādikarṭhis*. The images of the *Ādikarṭhis* (or *Pañchendras*)¹ were installed.

The inscription shows the inclusion of the district in the Gupta empire under Skandagupta. The suggestion of R. B. Pandey that the then Malla king of Majhauuli is alluded to in the term '*Kshitiṭpaśata*' or '*Nṛipatiśata*'² seems to be doubtful. The inscription shows that the Jainas had an influence over the region in the 5th century A. D. Madra though himself a Jaina, honoured the Brahmanas and the Jainas equally.³

Jainism in Central India

An inscription from Udaigiri near Sanchi in Central India shows the condition of Jainism in that locality. The inscription is dated in c.426 A. D. and records the installation of an image of Jina Pārśvanātha, by a pupil of Āchārya Gosharmā. Gosharmā was born in the line of Āchārya Bhadra, and was the son of a certain Aśvapati.⁴

Three Jaina image inscriptions were recently found from a village called Durjanpura in the Vidisa District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscriptions refer themselves to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Ramagupta.⁵ These records clearly show that Vidisa was an important centre of Jainism in Madhya Pradesh.

1. The two terms are said to denote the Jaina Tirthankaras known as Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. The term Indra may here indicate 'Jinendra,' cf. Sircar, *S. I.*, p. 309, n. 8; Pandey, *G. J. I.*, p. 171; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 93, p. 59.

2. Pandey, *R. B.*, *G. J. I.*, p. 171.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *I. A.*, Vol. XI, p. 310; *J. S. S.*, Vol. II, No. 91, pp. 57-58.

5. *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, pp. 347ff.

These inscriptions suggest that in the 4th-5th century A. D. Jainism was among fairly popular religious sects in central India.

Jainism in Kalinga

The epigraphs recovered from Hathigumpha, Udaigiri and Manchapuri caves in Kalinga show that Orissa was one of the important early centres of Jainism. The most important of all these inscriptions is the Hāthigumpha cave inscription of king Kharavela, which is now generally assigned to the end of the 1st century B. C.¹ The next inscription is

1. The record was discovered in 1825 A. D. It was assigned to B. C. 416-316 by R.L. Mitra in his *Antiquities of Orissa* (Shah, *J. N. I.*, p. 160). B. L. Indraji assigned it to B. C. 157 after having read a passage denoting the 165th year of the Maurya era in the 16th line of the inscription (C. J. Shah, *J. N. I.*, p. 160). The view of Indraji was accepted and supported by many scholars like Smith (*E. H. I.*, p. 44), Jayaswal (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 425-485), R. D. Bannerji (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 486-505), Muni Jinavijaya (*Prāchīna Jaina Lekhasaṃgraha*, Vol. I.), Dubreuil (*Ancient History of Deccan*, p. 12), and Sten Konow (cf. R. D. Bannerji, *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, pp. 486-505), etc.

J. F. Fleet controverted the reading in the 16th line of the inscription and thereby the opinions of all the scholars referred to above. He held that it was meant to denote some Jaina canonical work which was forgotten in the days of the Mauryas (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910 pp. 242 ff). To Fleet the earliest Indian era was the Vikrama era which started in 58 B. C. and, therefore, he rejected the views of Indraji and others. Fleet was supported by Luders (*List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1345, p. 160) and R.C. Majumdar (*I. A.*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 223 ff and Vol. XLVIII, pp. 187 ff).

D. C. Sircar on palaeographical grounds assigned this inscription to the last phase of the 1st century B. C. in his

that of king Lalāka, which mentions the excavation of a cave-dwelling for the use of the *Arahṃtas* and the *Śramaṇas* (Jainas) of Kalinga.¹ Another inscription of this category and time, as well mentions the excavation of a cave-dwelling by the chief queen of king Kharavela for the use of the Jaina monks.² The most important of all these records is the Hathīgumpha cave inscription of king Kharavela. This record presents the history of Jainism and indirectly proves an early entrance of the faith in Kalinga.

One of the various activities of the king for the promotion of the Jaina faith was the setting up of the image of Kalinga-Jina which had been snatched away by king Nanda,³ in the 12th year of his reign. Another work of this type was the erection of a shrine in the vicinity of 'Relic Depository (*Niṣīdīyā*) of the *Arhaṃta* on the Kumāri Parvata, on which the 'Wheel of the Conquest of the Jaina Doctrine was established.'⁴ Further the inscription records the distribution of several benefactions on the 'Yāpa professors' by the king.

These activities of the king prove that he was a devout Jaina. He must have been fully conversant with the ethical and philosophical ideals of the Jainas since in the inscription he is said to have realised the beauty of *Jīva* (soul) and *Deha* (matter i. e., *Ajīva*).⁵ Further C. J. Shah says that the line 15th of the Hāthīgumphā cave inscription mentions Khara-

Continued

Select Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 206. A. K. Narain attributes it to "the middle of the 1st century B. C." (*The Indc-Greeks*, p. 42).

The inscription is a very controversial one and it is almost impossible to assign it to an exact date.

1. J. A. S. B., Vol. VI, pp. 1074ff; J. S. S., II, No. 3, p. 11.
2. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, No. 92, p. 213.
3. J. S. I., p. 17; cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 206 ff.
4. *Supavata-Vijaya-Chaka-Kumārīpavatē*, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 80.
5. *Jīva-deha sirikā parikhilā*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 80.

vela as a monk, wearing the robes of a Jaina Śramaṇa.¹ Besides he built a meeting place (*Samghāyana*) for the "accomplished Śramaṇas, for those of good deeds and for the leaders of the Samgha"² of the Jainas.

Antiquity of Jainism in Kalinga

The exact date of the entry of Jainism in Kalinga could not be determined. But it may well go to an early period. The inscription as pointed above refers to an intrusion of Kharavela in Magadha, who brought back home forcibly the image of the Jina of Kalinga³ which was carried away to Magadha by king Nanda '*Tivasasata*' years back. The word '*Tivasasata*' has variously been explained.

Jayaswal identified Nandaraja of the epigraph with Nandivardhana,⁴ who was the homonymous Śaiśunāga king, but according to Raichaudhari, this King had nothing to do with Kalinga. Raichaudhari identified Nandarāja with Mahāpadmananda, who had 'all under his sole sway' and was the exterminator of the Kshatriyas,⁵ or with any of his nine sons. Now, the word *Tivasasata* is taken to denote 300 years by almost all the scholars,⁶ as against the view of Sten Konow⁷ who took it to stand for 103. In this way the existence of Jainism in Kalinga in the 4th century B. C. is proved. It was

¹. Shah, C. J., *J. N. I.*, p. 182.

². Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 402; Ibid, Vol. XIII, p. 234.

³. The habit of denominating the Tirthaṅkaras in this fashion is even now in vogue among the Jainas. According to Muni Jinavijaya Ādinātha is sometimes designated as Śatrunjaya Jina, cf. Shah, *J. N. I.*, p. 173.

⁴. Jayaswal, K. P., *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 386.

⁵. Raichaudhari, H. C., *P. H. A. I.*, p. 377; Shah identifies Nandaraja (*J. N. I.*, p. 177) with Nanda I of the Jaina tradition.

⁶. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 405, n.3.

⁷. Konow, S., *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, pp. 22-26.

confirmed by Jayaswal on the authority of *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* and the line 14th of the epigraph that Kumāri hill was the place where the religion was preached and promulgated by Mahāvīra.¹

This early introduction of the Jaina faith in the land of Kalinga could even be proved by the tradition recorded in the *Āvaśyakasūtra* wherein Mahāvīra is said to have visited a ruling Kṣhatriya prince of Orissa to preach his religion to him. The king is said to have been a friend of the father of Mahāvīra.²

Jainism in Tamilnadu

We now propose to deal the condition of the Jaina faith in Tamilnadu but we have rather meagre evidence about it. Jainism in the Tamil country was introduced either via Andhradesa or the Karnatak region.³

"A large number of caverns containing beds carved out in the rock have been discovered in the hills and mountainous regions in the Pudukkottai area and Madura and Tinnevely districts of Madras State. The two last named areas are particularly rich in these antiquities and the Madura District is known to possess considerably numerous monuments of this kind."⁴ These caverns are found generally containing inscriptions. These epigraphs are in the Brāhmī characters of 3rd century B. C.⁵ Early Tamil literature also confirms the flourishing condition of Jainism in South.⁶

Madura District

A certain cavern with beds and Brāhmī inscriptions was found from the Anaimalai hills. Another great cavern with

¹. Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 99-105; *Ibid*, Vol. XII, pp. 245-46.

². *Ā. sū.*, pp. 219-220.

³. Desai, P. B., *J. S. I.*, p. 25.

⁴. *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁵. *Ibid*, pp. 27-28.

⁶. *The Classical Age*, p. 413.

beds and epigraphs in Brāhmī was found from Varichchiyur. From the Tirupparankunram hills also caverns and records were found. Another cavern at Alagarmalai bore two inscriptions. From the hills of Siddhairmalai one cavern bearing three inscriptions was noticed.¹

Tinnevelly District

A cavern and records were discovered from Marugalapalai. Similarly from Kalugumalai caverns, beds and inscriptions have come to light.²

These antiquities and records are attributed to the Jainas, which point out that the Jainas had made an early settlement of theirs in Tamilnadu as well. It is quite possible that the Jainas who left Magadha towards the close of Chandragupta's reign may have been instrumental in the diffusion of the faith in the region.

Jainism in Western India

Now we propose to discuss the condition of Jainism in Western India. The main seat of Jainism in western India in ancient days, was Girnar which corresponds to modern Junāgarh. From this place we have certain inscriptions bearing testimony to this effect.

An inscription dated in the 58th year of the Vikrama Era, records the *Pratiṣṭhāpanā* of an image of Panchāpachanda a pupil of Nemichandra at Dhārāganja.³ Another reference of some Jainistic importance is to be gathered from 'Junāgarh stone Inscription of Jayadāman's grandson.' The inscription though mutilated records that at the knowledge of the *Kevalins* 'the gods, Asuras, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Rākshasas' arrived

¹. Desai, P. B., *J. S. I.*, p. 28; cf. K. V. S. Aiyar, *I.A.*, Vol. XL, p. 210.

². Ibid, *J. S. I.*, p. 28.

³. *Arch. Sur. India*, Vol. XVI, No. XX, p. 357; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 11, p. 16.

in Girinagara,¹ to pay their homage. This is the first inscription which mentions the attainment of perfect knowledge by the Jaina monks.² This record possibly makes a reference to Neminātha who is said to have attained *Kaivalya* at Girnar or other Tirthankaras. The inscription was from a cave near Junagarh which together with other caves of the group was used by Jaina monks. The caves of Dhank containing the images of Rishabha, Pārśva and Mahāvira etc. seem to belong to the same period.

Girnar enjoys a very important position in the scheme of Jaina *Tirthas* of note. The *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasuri mentions other names of Girnar as Raivataka and Ūrjayanta, having a stone figure of Neminātha,³ studded with precious gems of Kashmir.⁴ This *Mahātīrtha* was ornamented with the presence of a *Chaitya*.⁵ These are some of the various traditions recorded in *Vividhatīrthakalpa* regarding Girnar which go to prove its hoary antiquity. The fact that the traditions of the Jainas state that 22nd Tirthankara Neminātha attained Nirvāṇa on mount Girnar also shows that the region must have been a strong centre of Jaina activity.

Even if the traditional accounts are not considered as historical facts, it is clear from our inscriptions that Jainism at Girnar exercised a great influence in the 1st century B. C. and the early centuries of the Christian era. Jainism in this region was so deeply rooted that it continued to be an impor-

1. *Girinagare devāsura nāga ya(kṣa) rā(kṣa)sē...thāp(u)ramiva ...Kevali(jñāna saṃ(prāptānam)...Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, pp. 241ff; Sircar, S.I., No. 70, p.177; Luders List, No.966.*
2. *The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 419.*
3. *Nāmābhīḥ Śīraivatakorjjayaṇtāddyaiḥ prathāmitam | Śīnemipāvilaṃ staumi girināraṃ giriśvaraṃ ||1|| Vividhatīrthakalpa (S. J. G.) p. 7.*
4. *Kāśmīrāgataralnena Kuṣmandyādeśatotrache | Lepyabimbāspade nyasta śrī Nemermūrtīrāśmanī ||22||Ibid.*
5. *Ibid, v 24, p. 7.*

tant Jaina seat even in later periods, which is made clear from the favourable attitude accorded to this faith even later.¹

Jainism in Karnatak

Of all centres of Jainism in Karnatak, Halsi, known as Pālaśikā in ancient times, in the Belgāum District is the most important. We have several inscriptions besides those that are not in the range of our time but which confirm its Jainistic importance in later times.

The Kadamba Patronage

The Kadamba kings of Pālaśika were great patrons of the Jaina faith. Kākutsthavarmā (430-450 A. D.), the Kadamba Yuvarāja made a land gift to general Śrutakīrti.² Mṛgeśvarmā (475-490 A. D.), a grandson of Kākutsthavarmā, and the son of king Śāntivarmā (450-475 A. D.) caused the erection of a Jaina temple in the city of Pālaśikā and made a grant to the sects of the Yāpaniyas, Nirgranthas (Digambaras) and the Kūrchakas in the 8th year of his reign.³ Another record⁴ contains the declarations and ordinances of Ravivarmā (497-537 A. D.) and other Kadamba kings for the celebration of the festival of *Aṣṭāhnikā* for the glorification of Jinendra regularly on specified days every year.⁵ Similarly another record from Pālāsikā⁶ as well shows that he donated a piece land of in honour of the Lord Jinendra. These facts go to prove that perhaps Ravivarmā was "a more

1. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, (S. J. G.), p. 9.

2. Fleet, I. A., Vol. VI, No. XX, p. 24; J. S. S., II, 96, pp. 66-67.

3. Ibid, No. XXI, pp. 24-25; J. S. S., II, No. 99, pp. 72-74.

4. Ibid, No. XXII, pp. 25-27; J. S. S., II, No. 100, pp. 74-76.

5. Desai, P. B., J. S. I., p. 110.

6. Fleet, I. A., Vol. VI, No. XXIV, pp. 29-30; J. S. S., II, No. 101. pp. 77-78.

zealous supporter of the faith than his predecessors¹ were. In the eleventh year of the reign of king Ravivarmā, his brother Bhānuvarmā made a land gift for the ablution ceremony of the Lord Jinendra, to be performed on full moon days without fail.² Another record of this series, contains the donation of a village 'Vasuntavāṭaka' by king Harivarmā (537-547 A. D.), son of Ravivarmā, for the performance of the worship of *Aṣṭāhnikā* and the feeding up of the whole saṃgha, to Chandrakṣhānta, the head of the Vāriṣṇāchārya-saṃgha of the Kūrchakas.³ A second inscription as well mentions the donation of a village Marade by name, for the worship and maintenance of a Chaityālaya, under the possession of Ahriṣṭa Śramaṇa saṃgha.⁴

This generosity of a whole line of the Kadambas and their patronage to the Jaina faith led some scholars to believe that the Kadamba kings were Jainas by faith, as was held by K. B. Pathak and J. F. Fleet at a time.⁵ But the discovery of the Talagunda inscription⁶ of king Śāntivarmā (450-475 A. D.) led Fleet to correct his mistake.⁷ Kākutsthavarmā was the first king to express his reverence to Rīṣhabha in one of his inscriptions as pointed out above. Saletore took him to have been an 'avowed Jaina,'⁸ but as this reverence was not repeated in any other record of Kākutsthavarmā the view of Saletore does not seem plausible. The above record was made over merely for expressing a sense of gratitude to the general Śrutakīrti who might have saved the life of the king as sugges-

¹ Desai, P. B., *J. S. I.*, p. 110.

² Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol. VI, No. XXIII, pp. 27-29; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 102, pp. 78-79.

³ *Ibid*, No. XXV, pp. 30-31; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 103, pp. 80-81.

⁴ *Ibid*, No. XXVI, pp. 31-32; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 104, pp. 81-82.

⁵ *Ibid*, *I. A.*, VII, pp. 35-36.

⁶ Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 450ff.

⁷ Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanareese Districts*, p. 286.

⁸ Saletore, B. A., *Medieval Jainism*, p. 30.

ted by S. R. Sharma.¹ The Kadambas were Brāhmanas is further testified by an inscription of Viṣṇuvarman from Kadur Taluka wherein the king is styled as a "protector of the excellent Brāhmaṇa faith."² This statement could further be confirmed from the fact that the Kadamba king Śrīkrishṇavarmā is said to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice.³ In later epigraphs the kings of the Kadamba dynasty are said to have performed in all eighteen Aśvamedha sacrifices.⁴ Hence the hypothesis forwarded by G. M. Moraes that the Kadambas "were not Jainas"⁵ stands on a firm ground.

But it seems from their epigraphs that the religious toleration of the Kadambas was an instrumental factor for the growth and the development of the Jaina faith in Karnatak. Under their patronage the Yāpanīyas, the Nirgranthas (Digambaras), the Kūchakas, and the Śvetapaṭasamaṇas enjoyed full religious freedom together with non-Jaina faiths of the time.

Kolhapur

Another important stronghold of Jainism in Karnatak was Altem in the modern district of Kolhapur. We have an epigraph⁶ of 411 Śaka (489-90 A. D.), which records the erection of a Jaina temple by a feudatory of the Chālukyas, who is styled as Sāmiyar. He was a scion of the Rudranīla Saindraka line and a governor of the Kuhundī district. The temple was erected in the Alaktakanagar which was the main town and encircled by 700 villages in the district.

- ¹. Sharma, S. R., *J. K. C.*, p. 9.
- ². *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VI, Kd. 162.
- ³. *Aśvamedhayājñinah ...dharmamahārājasya śrīkrīṣṇavarmāṇah*, Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. XXXV, pp. 33-35; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 105, pp. 83-84.
- ⁴. *Ep. Car.*, XI, M. K. 41.
- ⁵. Moraes, G. M., *The Kadambakula*, pp. 249-50.
- ⁶. Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. 44, pp. 209-17; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 106, pp. 86-90.

Kolhāpur was an important centre of the faith in its early days as it is even today.¹ It is said to have been one of the four pontificates of the Jaina community.²

Dharwad District

Besides these, there were two other strongholds of Jainistic prominence in the Dharwad district of Karnatak, viz. Adur and Devagiri.

The inscription from Adur belongs to king Kīrtivarmā I of the Chālukya lineage. Though the inscription is not dated yet it may belong to 489 Śaka (+78=567–68 A.D.) or before, as this is the last date of the said king. The epigraph records the donation of a land gift for the worship and management of the temple of Lord Jinendra.

Devagiri in the Karajgi Taluka of Dharwad district was another such centre of eminence. We have three Kadamba records from this place which fall under the span of our time. In the first of these king Mṛigēśvarvarmā son of Śāntivarmā donates the village of Vṛihatparlūre, for the worship, repair and the management of the temple of Arhaṃtadēva.³ In the second,⁴ the donation of the village Kālavaṅga was made over to (1) the holy Arhata and god Jinendra, (2) for the enjoyment of the Śvetāmbara (*Śvētāpaṭa Samāṇas*), and (3) the Nirgrantha (Digambara) ascetics. The epigraph was inscribed by a general Narwar on the orders of his master Śrī Vijayaśivamṛigēśvarmā. In the third inscription, a gift of land is made by crown prince Devavarmā, son of Śrī Kṛiṣṇavarmā, for the worship, repair, and management of the

1. Desai, P. B., *J. S. I.*, p. 211.

2. *I. A.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 460.

3. Fleet, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, No. XXXVI, pp. 35-7; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 97, pp. 67-68.

4. *Ibid*, No. XXXVII, pp. 37-38; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 98, pp. 69-72.

Chaityālaya (temple) of the Arhata to the Yāpanīya Saṃgha.¹

Noṇamangala

It was another important stronghold of Jainism, under the rule of the illustrious Ganga kings. Our information is based on two records from Noṇamangala. The first of these provides us with a genealogical table of the Gangas starting from the king Kongaṇivarmā, Mādhavavarmā I, Harivarmā, and Viṣṇugopa to Mādhavavarmā II, and mentions a grant of land made by the latter to the *Jinālaya* built by the Mūlasaṃgha, on the advice of Āchārya Vīradēva.² This record is dated in the 13th regnal year of king Mādhavavarmā II (c.370 A.D.). The second inscription also records the names of the aforesaid Ganga kings and mentions that Mādhavavarmā II granted a village to the *Jinālaya* of Urṇūr and granted $\frac{1}{4}$ of the customs duties to Chandranandi the head of the Mūlasaṃgha.³

As pointed out elsewhere the term Mūlasaṃgha in epigraphs stood for the Digambara sect of the Jainas. And it seems that the Gangas patronised this sect of the Jaina ascetics. These inscriptions make it clear that the Jainas turned Noṇamangala into a great centre of their faith under the Ganga hegemony.

Jainism in Mysore and Coorg

Traditionally Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa in Mysore could be said to have been one of the earliest Jaina centres, perhaps, the cradle of the faith in Deccan and South. But unfortunately we do not have an inscription to testify the said tradition from epigraphs earlier than 600 A. D. By this period it had become the "chief seat of the Jainas in Southern India."⁴ Though

¹. Ibid, No. XXXV, pp. 83-84.

². *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Mālur tl., No. 73; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 90, pp. 55-56.

³. Ibid, No. 72; *J. S. S.*, II, No. 94, pp. 60-62.

⁴. Narsimhachar, *Ep. Car.*, II, (Int.) p. 1.

we have numerous inscriptions from Śrāvaṇa Beḷagoḷā only the first of these could be listed and dealt with here.

This place is not styled as a Tīrtha of the Siddhakṣhetra type (even though Bhadrabāhu, the last *Śrutakevalin* died here), but instead as a Tīrtha of Aṭiṣaya Kṣhetra type because of the large number of temples here.¹ It has often been asserted that Beḷagoḷā presents a history of the Jaina civilisation of some 2500 years through its images, temples, caves and records.²

Our inscription³ records the names of Mahāvīra, Gautama Sudharma, Jambu and many others with Bhadrabāhu (I), the last *Śrutakevalin*, the preceptor of Chandragupta Maurya. Bhadrabāhu had a knowledge of the past, present and the future and having predicted at Ujjaini "a famine and drought, lasting for 12 years migrated towards Southern India" with a large body of Jaina monks. He is said to have been accompanied by Chandragupta Maurya who is mentioned in this inscription by the name of Prabhāchandra.

The authenticity of the Bhadrabāhu-Chandragupta tradition is proved by the existence of a hill known as 'Chandra Giri', a temple thereon styled as 'Chandra Gupta Bastī,' and a cave designated after Bhadrabāhusvāmī wherein his footprints are even now worshipped. The factuality of this tradition was doubted by Fleet,⁴ but Narsimhachar⁵ had refuted his views favouring the tradition.

The migration to southern lands of India marks an important epoch in the development of the history of the Jaina Church since it led to many schisms etc.

¹ Premī, N R., *Jaina Sāhitya Aur Itihāsa*, pp. 422ff.

² J. S. S., Vol. I, (Int.), p. 1.

³ *Ep. Car.*, II, No. I; J. S. S., Vol. I, No.1 (I), pp. 1-2.

⁴ Fleet, I. A., Vol. XXI, pp. 156-160.

⁵ Narsimhachar, *Ep. Car.*, II, Int.; Now the tradition seems to be widely accepted..

Merkara

Merkara is a place in Coorg. The inscription under consideration is dated in 388 Śaka (+78=466—67 A. D.) and mentions the gift of a village styled as Badaṇeguppe to the Śrīvijaya Jaina temple of Talvananagar.¹ The inscription also mentions a line of spiritual teachers.²

The inscription records the genealogy of the Western Ganga kings. Kōṅgaṇī I (Mādhava I), Harivarmā, Viṣṇugōpa, Mādhava II, and Kōṅgaṇī II (Avinīta) respectively. Merkarā in Coorg and other places in Mysore were under the influence of the Jainas. The founder of the dynasty Kongaṇi-varma was helped by a Jaina teacher Simhanandi. Most of the Western Gangas were Jainas³ but some of them favoured Brahmanical sects also.

¹. J. S. S., II, No. 95, pp. 63-66.

². See ch. IV, p. 53.

³. *The Classical Age*, p. 269f.

CONCLUSION

The Jainas had a vast pantheon of Brhmanic and Jaina deities and a status lower than their own Tīrthaṃkaras was assigned to the former. The Tīrthaṃkara deities are like kings while the rest of the gods pointed above were relegated to a position not dissimilar to the officials and subjects of the king. We cannot assign a particular date for the final schism of the Jaina community into the sects of the Śvetāmbaras, the Digambaras and the Yāpanīyas. The reason is that all the evidences whether epigraphic, Paṭṭāvalic or literary are differing in nature on the point. And as we know of the existence of the monks wearing white clothes even in the days of Pārśva, the twenty third Tīrthaṃkara, the aforesaid division seems to have been a gradual one.

It is wrong to hold, as has been discussed above, that women were admitted in the Jaina order in imitation of the Buddhists. The Jaina laity had great powers over the saṃgha of the monks. He could have admitted or expelled the monks and even the heads of the religious sections, at any time, in order to restore peace in the saṃgha.

Mūlasaṃgha (Nirgrantha or Digambara) was very popular in South. It was the sect to which Āchārya Kundakunda belonged. Devaseṇa in his *Darśanasāra* has excluded this sect from the list of the five pseudo-Jaina schools but it has been proved otherwise. For it was not bereft of those characteristics which inspired him to term Śvetāmbara, Yāpanīya, Drāviḍa, Kāṣṭhā and Māthura saṃghas as false sects. The Kūrchakas are known also from inscriptions, though we do not know the details of their order.

The Jaina epigraphs from Mathura contain the names of the Kauṭika, Vāraṇa (Chāraṇa), Aryyoddenika and Vaśavāṭika gaṇas with their minor subdivisions. These names are to

be found even in the *Sthavirāvali* of the *Kalpasūtra* and go to prove the correctness of the Jain tradition. The absence of the *Sambhoga* and such other minor organisations, in the literary works of the Jainas confirms the fact that the Jainas in their ancient days, followed the oral system of imparting knowledge.

They practised the principle of *Ahiṃsā*, which was preached by their Tirthamkaras from time to time. Furthermore, they had developed a fairly advanced philosophy at an early date. They were accustomed to worship the *stūpas*, temples and images of their gods and perfected beings.

It is a fair assumption that by sixth cent. A. D., the Jain religion had spread to a greater part of the Indian soil. In its effectiveness and the number of its adherents it did not lag behind other contemporary religions that prevailed at the time.

APPENDIX I

A list of the Jaina Tirthamkaras

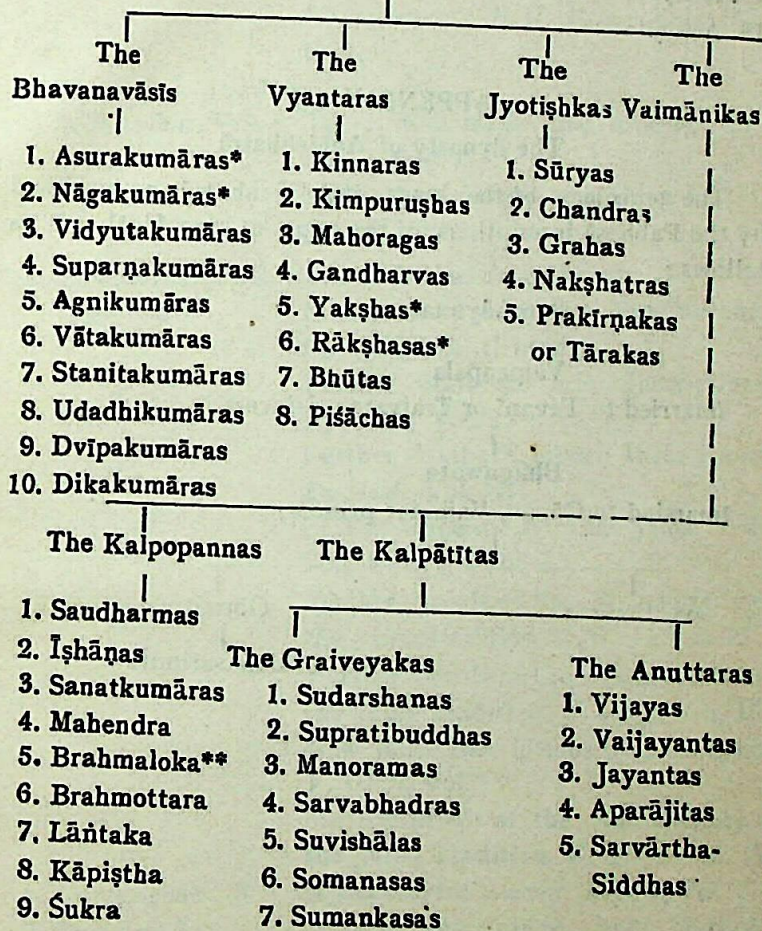
Name	Place of Birth	Parents	Cognizance	Colour	Height	Age	Place of Nirvāna
1. Ādinātha Rīṣhabha	Vinītanagari	Nābhīrāja & Marudevī	Vīṣhabha	Bull or Golden	500	Dhanuṣhas 84,00,000 years	Aṣṭapada .
2. Ajitanātha	Ayodhyā	Jitaśatru & Vijayasenā	Elephant	"	450	72,00,000	" Samet shikhar
3. Saṃbhava-nātha	Śrāvastī	Dṛḍharāja & Suṣhenā	Aśva	"	400	60,00,000	" "
4. Abhinandana	Ayodhyā	Svayambhava Ape & Siddhārthā	Ape	"	350	50,00,000	" "
5. Sumatinātha	Ayodhyā	Meghanātha & Maṅgalā	Krauncha	"	300	40,00,000	" "
6. Padma-prabha	Kauśāmbī	Śīdhara & Suśmā	Padma or Lotus	Red	250	30,00,000	" "
7. Supārśva-nātha	Vārānasi	Pratiṣṭharāja & Pṛithvī	Svastika	Golden	200	20,00,000	" "
8. Chandra-prabha	Chandrapura	Mahāsena & Lakṣhmaṇā	Moon	White	150	10,00,000	" "
9. Puṣpadanta	Kākandina-gari	Sugrīva & Rāmā	Makara	"	100	2,00,000	" "

10. Śīalanātha	Bhadrapura	Dṛḍharatha	Śrīvatsa	Golden	90	"	1,00,000	"	"
		& Nandā	figure						
11. Śreyāṃśa-	Siṃhapura	Viṣṇu	Rhinoceros	"	80	"	84,00,000	"	"
nātha		& Viṣṇā					(common years)		
12. Vāsupūjya	Champā	Vasupūjya	(she)Buffalo	"	70	"	72,00,000	"	Champāpurī
		& Jayā							
13. Vimalanātha	Kāmpilya	Kṛitavarmā	Boar	"	60	"	60,00,000	"	Samet shikhar
		& Śyāmā							
14. Ananta-	Ayodhyā	Siṃhasena	Falcon	"	50	"	30,00,000	"	"
nātha		& Sūyaṣā							
15. Dharma-	Ratnapura	Bhānu	Thunderbolt	Golden	45	"	10,00,000	"	Samet shikhar
nātha		& Suvratā							
16. Śāntinātha	Hastināpur	Aśvasena	Antelope	"	40	"	1,00,000	"	"
		& Achirā							
17. Kunthu-	"	Śūrasena	Goat	"	35	"	90,000	"	"
nātha		& Śrī Rānī							
18. Aranātha or	"	Sudarśana	Fig. of Nand-	"	30	"	84,000	"	"
Nandyāvartta		& Devī Rānī.	yāvartta diagram						
19. Mallinātha	Mathura	Kumbha	Blue	"	25	"	55,000	"	"
		& Prabhāvatī							
20. Munisuv-	Rājgrīha	Sumitra	Black	"	20	"	30,000	"	"
rata		& Padmāvatī							

Name	Place of Birth	Parent	Cognizance	Colour	Height	Age	Place of Nīraāna
21. Naminātha Mathura	Vijaya & Viprā	Blue lotus	Yellow	15	10,000	10,000	10,000
22. Neminātha Śauripura	Samudra- vijaya & Śivādevī	Conch	Black	10	1,000	1,000	Mount Girnar
23. Pārśva- nātha	Vārānasi	Śvasena & Vāmādevī	Serpent	Blue	9 hands	100	Samet shikhar
24. Mahāvīra- Vardhamāna	Kundagrāma & Trīśalā	Siddhārtha	XX	Yellow	7	72	Pāvāpurī

APPENDIX II

The types of Jaina Gods



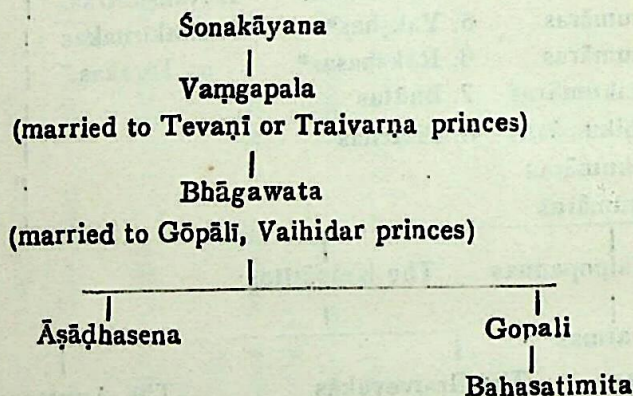
* Of all the Jaina Gods, probably the Asurakumāras, Nāgakumāras, Yakṣhas and the Rākṣhasas are alluded to in the Junāgaḍh Stone Inscription of Jaydamana's grandson, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 241ff; also Sircar, *S. I.*, No. 70, p. 171.

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 10. Mahāśukra | 8. Priyankaras |
| 11. Śatāra | 9. Ādityas |
| 12. Sahsrāra** | |
| 13. Āṇata | |
| 14. Prāṇata | |
| 15. Āraṇa | |
| 16. Achyuta | |

APPENDIX III

The dynasty of Adhichhatrā

The genealogy of the kings of Adhichhatrā as furnished by the Pabhosā inscriptions of the reign of king Udāka is as follows :



** The gods from Nos. 5 to 12 are of one type.

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INDEX

- Abhaṇandi, 30, 53.
 Abhiyogas, 6.
 Āchārya Chandranandi, 29.
 Āchārya Śānti, 34.
 Āchārya Vīradeva, 29, 105.
 Adharma, 69, 71.
 Adholoka, 70.
 Ādikartṛis, 94.
 Ādinātha, 3, 4, 5, 94n. 97n.
 Āgamas, 75.
 Ahimsā, 57, 58, 109.
 Ahriṣṭa Śramaṇa Samgha, 102.
 Ajīva, 11, 12, 13, 63, 66, 67, 96.
 Ājīvikas, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 88.
 Akalanka, 70.
 Ākāśa, 69, 70, 71.
 Alaktakanagara, 30, 103.
 Aloka, 70.
 Alokākāśa, 63, 70, 71.
 Altem, 2, 30, 103.
 Ananta pradeśas, 68.
 Aṇhaya, 60.
 Anikas, 6.
 Antarañjikā, 50.
 Aṇus, 68, 69.
 Aparājita, 22,
 Āpuliya, 23.
 Apuṇya, 60.
 Ardhaphalaka, 20.
 Arhaṃta, 75, 96.
 Arhaṃtadeva, 104.
 Arhat Jinendra, 28.

Arhats, 3, 59, 77, 81, 82, 84, 88, 104, 105.

Aristanemi, 93.

Ārya Rohaṇa, 47.

Āryikas, 35.

Aryyoddehikagaṇa, 47, 49, 108.

Āṣṭidba, 10.

Asamkheya, 68.

Āsava, 60.

Āsinava, 59, 60.

Asoka, 1, 2, 10, 59, 60, 61, 73, 77, 88.

Āsrava, 60, 61, 63.

Assamitta, 10.

Aṣṭāhnīkā, 24, 33, 86, 101.

Aṣṭapada, 5.

Asuras, 99.

Aśvamedha, 24, 103.

Ātman, 63.

Ātmarakshas, 6.

Avasarpiṇī, 3.

Āyāgapataṣ, 80, 81, 82.

Ayyabhista kula, 42, 44, 45, 46.

Badli, 1, 5.

Badneguppe, 30.

Bairat, 88.

Bambhalijja, 37, 88.

Bandha, 63.

Bhadrabāhu, 2, 19, 20, 21, 22, 85, 106.

Bhānuvarma, 102.

Bharata, 78.

Bhavanātrika, 71.

Bhāvaḥ amgraha, 20.

Bhikkhus, 35.

Bhojakas, 85.

Bhūpāla, 25.

Phūta, 61.
 Bra hmadāsika, 36, 38, 40.
 Brahmi, 98.
 Buddha, 12, 73, 77, 87.
 Buddhilinga, 22.
 Buddhists, 12, 14, 27, 28, 35, 51, 74, 76, 88, 108.
 Budhila, 22.

Chaturvarṇa Samgha, 27, 92,
 Chaturvidha Samgha, 27, 92,
 Chaityālaya, 24, 77, 84, 102, 105.
 Chaityas, 73, 75, 77, 100.
 Chaityavandana, 75.
 Chaityavāsīs, 32.
 Chaityāvāsa sthiti, 32.
 Chalne, 10.
 Chalukyas, 2, 103, 104.
 Chaṇḍiye, 60, 61.
 Champāpurī, 5.
 Chandanandibhatar, 30.
 Chandra giri, 106.
 Chandragupta Basti, 106.
 Chandragupta Maurya, 2, 19, 21, 85, 99, 106.
 Chandrakshānta, 33, 86, 102.
 Chandranandi, 30, 105.
 Chandraprahha, 5.
 Chāraṇa gaṇa, 43, 46, 47, 108.
 Chedi, 2.
 Cheras, 2.
 Chetaka, 43, 44.
 Chetanā, 63.
 Chetiya knla, 42, 44, 46.
 Chhatras, 75.
 Chikāchārya, 30.
 Chīvaradharīs, 34.

Choṭīdhārī, 34.

Coorg, 30, 105, 107.

Dadhikaraṇa, 8, 85.

Daśaratha, 1, 11,

Deha 96.

Desiga gaṇa, 53, 54, 55.

Deva Samgha, 33.

Devagiri, 2, 16, 84, 104.

Devanandā, 6,

Devasena, 18, 24, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 54, 108.

Devasena suri, 20, 32.

Devatas, 82.

Devavarma, 24, 77, 84, 104.

Dhamma, 59.

Dharaṇendra, 8.

Dharma, 68, 71.

Dharmasena, 22.

Dhārī, 4.

Dhriṣṭisena, 22.

Dhritisena, 22.

Dūmaprabhā, 72.

Digambaras, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24,
25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 52,
54, 83, 84, 93, 101, 104, 105, 108.

Digvāsasa, 13.

Drāvida Samgha, 31, 32, 54, 108.

Dravya, 64,

Dveṣha, 61.

Gachchhas, 33.

Gaṇa, 16, 23, 28, 33, 36, 37, 38, 51, 52, 53.

Gaṇadharas, 51.

Ganga, 10, 29, 53, 105, 107.

Gaṇika, 50.

Gaṇin, 31, 89.

Gautama, 22, 106.

Gavedhukā, 43, 45.

Gaya, 10

Gṛnar, 5, 99, 100.

Gopya Saṃgha, 23.

Gosala, 11, 12, 15.

Goṭṭhamahila, 10.

Govardhana, 22.

Gṛihya Sūtra, 73.

Guṇachandrabhatār 30, 53.

Guṇanandibhatar, 30, 53.

Halāyudha, 13.

Hālījja, 43.

Halsi, 2, 16, 101.

Hastilipta, 48.

Hāridraka, 43.

Harṇ-gamesi, ६, 7.

Hārīti gotra, 43.

Haritamāl kadhi sākhā, 42, 44, 46.

Hāritimālākari, 43, 44.

Harivamśa, 5.

Harivarma, 33, 86, 102, 105, 107.

Hathigumpha, 18, 62, 75, 76, 78, 95, 96.

Hāṭṭakiya kula, 41, 43, 46, 52.

Haṭṭhīlījja, 48.

Himā, 56, 61.

Hindu, 3, 27, 62, 79.

Ikshvaku, 5.

Indra, 80, 91n.

Indranandi, 26.

Indrapuraka, 50.

Īshyā, 61.

Isyā, 60, 61.

Jāmāli, 10.

Jambu, 22, 106.

Jambusvami, 21, 22.

Jāta, 61.

Jaṭācharya, 34.

Jatādnari, 34.

Jayanāma, 22.

Jayanandibhatar, 30, 53.

Jayasena, 22.

Jina(s), 4, 24, 25, 75, 81, 96, 97.

Jinachandra, 20.

Jinālaya, 29, 33, 83, 105.

Jinakalpa, 21.

Jinanandi, 30.

Jinaprabhasuri, 88, 89, 100.

Jinasena, 34.

Jinendra, 101, 102, 104.

Jīva, 57, 61, 63, 64-66, 71, 96.

Kadamba, 2, 23, 24, 26, 28, 33, 34, 77, 86, 101, 102, 103, 104.

Kahaum, 2, 93.

Kaivalya, 5, 100.

Kākopala Amnāya, 30.

Kakubha, 94.

Kākutsthavarma, 101, 102.

Kāla, 69, 71.

Kālavanga, 16, 28, 104.

Kalinga, 2, 76, 78, 95, 96, 97, 98.

Kalpasūtra, 6, 16, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 48, 50, 51, 52, 75, 89,
109.

- Kalyāṇa, 26.
 Kāmariddhi, 50.
 Kāmariddhika, 50.
 Kaṇhasaba, 43, 44, 45n., 46.
 Kaniyasika kula, 42, 44,
 Kannada (land), 14.
 Kāpālikas, 35.
 Karma, 63, 64.
 Karnataka, 26, 34, 101, 103, 104.
 Kaśhāyas, 60.
 Kāsthā, 31, 32, 54, 108.
 Kauṭika gaṇa, 37, 38, 40, 50, 108.
 Kevalin(s). 15n., 22, 99.
 Kharavela, 2, 18, 62, 76, 78, 95, 96, 97.
 Kilviṣakas, 6.
 Kirtivarma I, 104.
 Kodhe, 60.
 Kongaṇivarma, 29, 30, 53, 105, 107.
 Koṭṭika gaṇa, 37, 38, 41, 47.
 Koṭṭiya gaṇa, 36, 40.
 Kṛishṇa, 11n.
 Krishṇa sakhā, 43.
 Krishṇavarma, 24, 77, 84, 103, 104.
 Kritikārya, 22.
 Krodha, 60, 61.
 Kshatriya, 22.
 Kshemaliptikā, 50.
 Kuhunḍi, 30, 103.
 Kula, 16, 23, 28, 36, 37, 38, 51, 89.
 Kulaka, 85, 92.
 Kunchī, 34.
 Kunchi-Kamaṇḍalu, 34.
 Kundakunda, 30, 31, 54, 55, 108.
 Kuṇḍakundācuārya, 30, 31.
 Kundakundānvaya, 30, 31, 53, 54, 55.

Kundakundānvayī, 54.

Kūrchadhārī, 34.

Kūrchakas, 2, 17, 28, 33, 34, 35, 84, 86, 101, 102, 103, 103.

Kūrchandhara, 35.

Kūrchas, 34.

Kūrchī, 34.

Kūrchika, 35.

Kuvera, 74, 76, 90.

Kuveiā, 74, 90.

Lalāka, 2, 96.

Lānchhanas, 3.

Lobha, 60.

Lohāryya, 22.

Loka, 70,

Lokākāśa, 70, 71.

Lokapālas, 6.

Mādhavavarmā I-II, 29, 105, 107.

Madhyaloka, 70.

Madhyamikā, 38.

Mahābhārata, 73.

Mahātamaḥprabhā, 72.

Mahāvīra, 4, 5, 8, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 43n., 70, 76, 79,
93, 94n. 98, 100, 106,

Maighika, 50.

Majhamā (śākhā), 37, 38, 39, 40.

Majjhimilla, 38.

Mālayaka, 43.

Mālijja, 43, 44, 47.

Māna, 60, 61.

Manchapurī, 95.

Māne, 60.

Mankhaliputta Goṣāla, 10, 12,

- Manu, 62.
 Māsapurikā, 48.
 Mātapatrikā, 48.
 Māthura, 31, 32, 54, 108.
 Mathura, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16, 17, 27, 35, 36, 47, 53, 59, 76,
 77, 79, 80, 81, 85, 86, 89-93, 108.
 Māyā, 60.
 Mehika kula, 49, 50.
 Merkara, 17, 30, 53, 107.
 Mokṣa, 56, 63.
 Mrigeshvarma, 23, 33, 77, 101, 104.
 Muḍiyā, 34.
 Mudukoṭṭūra Viṣaya, 29.
 Mūlasamgha, 17, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 54, 55, 105, 108.
 Muni Suvrata, 5.

 Nāḍika kula, 42, 44, 46.
 Nāgabdhūta, 48.
 Nāgabhutikiya, 47, 48, 49.
 Nāgabdhūya, 48.
 Nāgadeva, 30.
 Nāga(s), 8, 9n., 80, 99.
 Nāgasena, 22.
 Nāgendra, 8.
 Naigameṣa, 7, 8, 80.
 Naigameya, 7.
 Nakshatra, 22.
 Nāndaka, 48.
 Nandi (gaṇa), 54.
 Nandi (Samgha), 33, 36.
 Nandijja, 48.
 Nandiyāvartta, 76, 89, 93.
 Narakāvāsas, 72.
 Narwar, 104.
 Nemesa, 6, 7, 8, 80.

Nemeso, 7.

Nemi, 5.

Neminatha, 4, 5, 94n., 100.

Niggantha, 15, 27, 87, 88.

Niggantha Samaṇa Samgha, 28.

Niṇhagas, 10.

Nirgranthas, 16, 28, 31, 32, 33, 81, 101, 103, 104.

Nirgrantha Samaṇa Samgha, 16, 28, 83.

Nirjarā, 63.

Nirvāṇa, 85, 100.

Nisidiyā, 75, 96.

Nithūliye, 60, 61.

Oda śākhā, 42, 44, 45, 46.

Pabhosa, 88.

Pālāsikā, 23, 24, 33, 101.

Palisave, 59.

Paṃkaprabhā, 72.

Pāṇa, 61.

Paṇhavāhaṇaya (kula), 37, 38, 39, 40.

Pāpa, 59, 60, 61, 63.

Paramārḥata Vijayakīrti, 29.

Paridhāsika, 47, 48, 49.

Parigraha, 58.

Parihāsaka, 48.

Parīṣadas, 6.

Parisava, 60.

Pārśva, 8, 21, 93, 100, 108.

Pārśvanātha, 4, 5, 8, 80, 94.

Parvati, 11n.

Paṭṭāvalis, 19, 43n.

Pāvāpurī, 5.

Pebbolala, 29.

Perurevāṇi-Aḍigala, 29.

Petavāmika Kula, 41-42, 44, 46.

Poygai, 14.
 Prabhava, 22.
 Prakīrṇakas, 6.
 Prāṇa, 61, 64.
 Praśnavāhanaka (kula), 37, 38.
 Pretapurikā, 47, 48, 49.
 Pritidharmika, 43, 44.
 Priyagantha, 38n.
 Prosthila, 22.
 Pudgala, 66, 67, 68, 71.
 Pūjyapāda, 69.
 Punṇāgavṛkshamūlagāṇa, 26.
 Puṇya, 63.
 Purimatal, 5.
 Pūrṇapatrikā, 48.
 Purukhetaka, 23.
 Puruṣa, 63.
 Pūrvins, 23.
 Pūsamittija, 43, 44.
 Pushpadanta, 5.
 Puṣkala, 28.
 Pustakagachchha, 54.
 Puṣyamitrikā, 43.
 Puṣyamitriya kula, 42, 44, 46.

Rājarāja, 14.
 Rajjus, 71.
 Rājyapālīkā, 50.
 Rākshasas, 99.
 Rāmagupta, 5, 94.
 Raṣṭrakūṭaṣa, 26.
 Ratnanandin, 20.
 Ratnaprabhā, 72.
 Ravivarmā, 23, 86, 101, 102.
 Rāyapaseṇijjaupāṅga, 75.

Rijupālikā, 5.

Rishabhadeva, 93.

Ṛsabha, 4, 75, 78, 100, 102.

Ṛshabhanātha, 5.

Sāddālaputta, 12.

Saiva(s), 12, 13, 27.

Śākhā, 16, 27, 36, 37, 38, 39, 51, 52, 89.

Śakra, 6, 7, 8.

Sallekhanā, 85.

Sāmānikas, 6.

Samantabhadra, 19.

Sambhavanatha, 4, 93.

Sambhoga, 16, 37, 38, 51, 52—3, 89, 109.

Sambhūtavijaya, 22, 49n.

Sameta Śikhara, 5.

Samghadās gaṇin, 35.

Sāmiyar, 30, 103.

Samkāsikā 43.

Samkāsīya śākhā, 42, 44, 46.

Samkheya, 68.

Samvara, 63.

Sanchi, 94.

Śāntinatha, 4, 93, 94.

Śāntisenika, 38n.

Śāntivarmā, 101, 102, 104.

Saraswati, 7, 8, 80.

Śarkarāprabhā, 72.

Sarnāth, 88.

Sarssai devī, 7.

Saurāṣṭra, 20.

Sayambhava, 22.

Sena (samgha), 33,

Siddhanandi (Muni), 30.

- Siddhartha, 22.
 Siddhas, 5, 6, 59.
 Śikhādhari, 34.
 Śilabhadrabhaṭār, 30, 53.
 Śilānka, 12n., 13.
 Simha (samgha), 33.
 Sirikā, 37, 42, 46, 53.
 Śiva, 4, 11n., 12n.
 Śivabhūti, 19, 20.
 Śivaratha (Āchārya), 33.
 Skanda, 7.
 Skandagupta, 2, 4.
 Skandhas, 68, 69.
 Śmaśānas, 73.
 Somabhūta, 48.
 Śrāvakas, 75.
 Śrāvaṇa Belagola, 2, 5, 22, 31, 54, 55, 70, 85, 105, 106.
 Śrāvastikā, 50.
 Śrīgriha, 37, 40, 41, 42, 53.
 Śrī Gupta, 43.
 Śrīkalaśa, 26.
 Śrī kīrtiyāchāryānvaya, 36.
 Śrī Pujas, 28.
 Śrīvijaya, 30, 107.
 Śrutakevalins, 23, 106.
 Śrutakīrti, 101, 102.
 Sthavirakalpa, 21.
 Sthulabhadra, 20, 49n.
 Stūpas, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 90, 93, 109.
 Sudharma, 22, 106.
 Sugata, 4.
 Suivadikuchhiyas, 35.
 Supārśvanātha, 76, 90.
 Supratibuddha, 37.
 Susthita, 37.

Śvetāmbara(s), 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25,
26, 31, 32, 35, 49, 54, 83, 84, 85, 89, 93,
104, 108.

Śvetapaṭasamaṇa Saṃgha, 16, 28, 35, 83, 103; 104.

Śvetavāsasa, 13.

Talvan-nagar, 30, 107.

Tamaḥprabhā, 72.

Tamil, 14.

Terāśīyas, 13.

Thaniya, 37, 38, 39.

Tīrthankaras, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 59, 76, 78, 79, 80, 83, 92, 93,
97n., 100, 108, 109.

Tīssagutta, 10.

Trāyastriṃśa, 6.

Triśalā, 6.

Tumkur, 4.

Ucchenāgari Śākhā, 37, 38, 39.

Uchchihanāgari, 38, 40.

Udaigiri, 94, 95.

Uddeha (gaṇa), 47, 48, 49.

Uddehika, 48.

Uddehikiya, 47.

Udumbarijjiya, 48.

Udumbarika, 48.

Ujjaini, 106.

Ullagachchha, 48.

Uranura, 29, 105.

Ushabha, 75, 80.

Uttarā, 19.

Uvagāriyaleṇa, 75.

(135)

- Vachchhalijja, 37, 38, 40, 43, 44.
 Vachchhaliya, 37, 38, 39, 46.
 Vachchhaliyāto kula, 42, 44.
 Vaisesika, 68.
 Vairi, 37, 38, 39, 40.
 Vaiṣṇavas, 12, 27, 85n.
 Vajaṇagari, 42, 43, 46, 52.
 Vajra, 38n.
 Vajranāgari, 43.
 Vajranandī, 31.
 Vajri, 37, 38, 39.
 Vallabhipura, 20.
 Vālukāprabhā, 72.
 Vāṇijja, 37, 38.
 Vārāhamihira, 11, 47n.
 Vāraṇa gaṇa, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 52, 108.
 Vaidhamāna, 5, 31, 89, 93.
 Vāriṣ ṇāchārya samgha, 33, 34, 86, 102.
 Vasupūjya, 5.
 Vātsaliya, 43.
 Vedas, 56.
 Veśavāṭika gaṇa, 49, 50, 108.
 Vidisa, 5, 94.
 Vidyādhara Gopal, 38n.
 V.dyādhari, 38, 39, 40.
 Vijayasena, 22.
 Vijayaśivamṛgeshavarma, 16, 28, 35, 104.
 Vijjāhari, 38, 39.
 Viranchipuram, 14.
 Viśākha, 22.
 Viṣṇugopa, 105, 107.
 Vishṇudeva, 22.
 Vishṇunandin, 22.
 Vishṇuvarman, 103.
 Viṣṇu, 4.
 Vividhatirthakalpa, 74, 76, 88, 90, 100.

Vṛkṣakas, 82.

Vyāsa, 62.

Yakṣas, 99.

Yakṣis, 82.

Yāpa, 18, 26, 75, 96.

Yāpana, 26.

**Yāpanīyas, 14, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36,
54, 84, 86, 101, 103, 105, 108.**

Yasobhadra, 22.

Yāvaniyam, 25.

ERRATA

p. 2 li. 14 for Chalyukyas	read Chalukyas
p. 5 fn. 4 for Palacography	read Palaeography
p. 7 li. 12 for Harinaigemesin	read Harinaigamesin
p. 7 li. 12 13 for Naigmeṣa	read Naigameṣa
p. 7 li. 20 for Harinaigmeṣi	read Harinaigameṣi
p. 8 li. 23 for Dharnedra	read Dharanendra
p. 11 fn. 1 li. 2 for delibrate	read deliberate
„ „ li. 3 for none of the other	read no other
p. 12 li. 9 for Buddists	read Buddhists
p. 12 fn. 4 li. 4 for p. 960.	read p. 960).
p. 14 li. 17 for Tamil ephigraphs	read Tamil epigraphs
„ li. 24 for mentfoned	read mentioned
„ fn. 2 for Hoernele	read Hoernle
p. 15 li. 14 for Coummunity	read Community
„ li. 18 for attempts	read attempt
„ fn. 1 li. 3 for bold	read hold
p. 16 li. 12 for with the	read "with the
p. 18 li. 18 for as for	read as far
p. 18 fn. 4 for Select	read Select
p. 19 li. 22 for happend	read happened
p. 20 li. 5 for V krama	read Vikrama,
„ li. 9 for add tion	read addition
p. 20 li. 13 for start d	read started
p. 21 li. 30 for Śvetāmbara	read Svetāmbara
p. 22 li. 12 for Vijaysena	read Vijayasena
„ „ for Nakshtra	read Nakshatra
p. 25 li. 1 for Vikram	read Vikrama
p. 25 li. 18 for per onality	read personality
p. 25 li. 22-3 for Pañchamārgōlpattī	read Pañchamārgotpattī
p. 27 li. 18 for orders	read order
p. 29 li. 18 for Mūlasamgha	read Mūlasamgha
p. 29 li. 21-22 for Kongunivarma	read Konganivarma

p. 30 li. 10 for Kundakundānvya	read Kundakundānvaya
„ li. 12 for Markarā	read Merkara
„ li. 13 for Konguṇivarmā	read Kongaṇivarma
„ li. 14 for Kundakundānvya	read Kundakundānvaya
„ li. 16 for Śilabhadra	read Śilabhadra
p. 30 ll. 15-16 for Kundkundānvaya	read Kundakundānvaya
p. 31 li. 20 for aquired	read acquired
p. 31 li 22 for <i>Darśanāsāra</i>	read <i>Darśanasāra</i>
p. 31 li. 24 for Māthur	read Māthura
p. 32 fn 1 for <i>Darśanāsāra</i>	read <i>Darśanasāra</i>
p. 33 li. 11 for inscriptions give	read inscriptions mention
p. 33 li. 12 for Mūlasamgha was	read Mūlasamgha was
p. 33 li. 29 for Nirgrnhas	read Nirgranthas
p. 34 li 7 for Kū chas	read Kūrchas
p. 35 li 28 for certainly	read certainty
p. 36 ll. 5-6 for Kīrtiyāchāryānvaya	read Kīrtiyāchāryānvaya
p. 37 li. 4 for Majhma	read Majhama
p. 38 li. 2 for Uchchanāgarī	read Uchchhanāgarī
p. 41 fn. 3 for Bulandashah r	read Bulandashahar
p. 52 li. 29-30 for divis on	read division
p. 53 li. 15 for the Kadamba	read the Ganga
p. 54 ll. 17-18 for Pustākagachcha	read Pustakagachcha
p. 54 li 28 for la er date	read later date
p. 56 for CHAPTER V	read CHAPTER FIVE
p. 56 li. 1 for thought	read thought
p. 58 li. 1 for from	read from
p. 59 li. 18 for consequences	read consequences
p. 62 li. 9 for to the	read to the
p. 62 li. 13 for impreatory	read imprecatory
p. 64 fn. 4 for Stevenson, Mrs.)	read Stevenson (Mrs.),
p. 66 li. 12 for dev id	read devoid
p. 68 li. 12 for studies is	read studies in
p. 68 li. 16 for thinkrs	read thinkers
p. 69 li. 16 for so ne	read some
p. 73 for CHAPTER VI	read CHAPTER SIX
p. 73 fn. 4 for offreings	read offerings

p. 75 li. 25 for or	read of
p. 75 fn. 1 for pp.-06-8;	read pp. 206-8;
p. 77 li. 10 for crder	read order
p. 78 li. 13-14 for salvation For	read salvation. For
p. 78 li. 18 for houour	read honour
p. 78 li. 22 for b ing	read being
p. 78 li. 22 for previlance.	read prevalence.
p. 80 li. 13 for th m	read them
p. 81 li. 10 for a chaic	read archaic
p. 83 li. 1 for wante	read wanted
p. 84 li. 20 for per ormed	read performed
p. 86 li. 27 for and practice	read and belief
p. 87 for CHAPTER VII	read CHAPTER SEVEN
p. 87 li. 4 for some	read some
p. 88 li. 17 for (see appendix C)	read (see appendix III)
p. 90 li. 12 for J ina	read Jaina
p. 93 li. 2 for m ntioned	read mentioned
p. 94 li. 12 for hououred	read honoured
p. 95, fn. 1, li. 9 for 486-485,	read 486-485),
p. 97, fn. 3, li. 2 for faishon	read fashion
p. 98 li. 25 for Janism	read Jainism
p. 99 li. 21 for testimony	read testimony
p. 100 li. 24 for th s	read this
p. 101 li. 24 for land of	read of land
p. 114 li. 14 for Traivarṇa princes)	read Traivarṇa princess)
p. 114 li. 16 for Vaihidar princes)	read Vaihidar princess)

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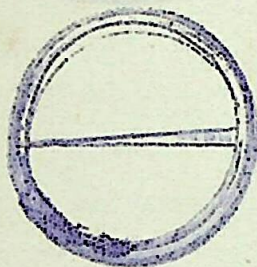
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